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JOURNAL
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N. B. In Vol. iii. Article iv., being a Catalogue of works in the Armenian language, the following corrections are to be made:

In the directions for pronunciation (p. 245), erase the line "ü . . . as the German ö;" and throughout the Catalogue, wherever ü occurs, make it simple *u*, having the sound of short *u* in *but*.

Also, wherever in the Catalogue a name ends in *tiun*, erase the *i*, and pronounce the *u* like the French *u*, according to the directions for pronunciation.

H. G. O. DWIGHT.

Constantinople, Mar. 1, 1854.

E R R A T A .

VOL. III.

- Page 297, l. 8, for *derivations* read *derivatives*.
 " 300, " 4, " *stay* " *slay*.
 " " " 18, " *as many hymns as form*, read *as many hymns as from*.
 " 301, " 4, " *practical* read *poetical*.
 " 306, " 7 from below, for *Brahmā* read *Brahma* twice.
 " 307, " 4, " " " "
 " 312, " 9 and 8 from below, for *names* read *name*, and strike out the words *and dvāpin*, "*double-drinker*."
 " 317, " 22, for *Again* read *Agni*.

VOL. IV.

- " 28, l. 14, for "*the god who is embodied in gnānam*, etc., read *the source of gnānam*, and comes into the possession of *Gnēyam* [or becomes a *gnēyam* or *sivam*].
 " 35, l. 1, for *Olivei* read *Olivu*.
 " 183, " 2, " *செம்பட்சம்* read *செம்பட்சம்*.
 " 193, l. 8, for *hold* read *held*.
 " 196, " 17, " *Kiridāppiramavāthi* read *Kiridāppiramavāthi*.

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Worcester. 8vo.

By the Society.

English and Tamil Dictionary: containing all the more
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English Language. 2nd edition, enlarged and revised.
Jaffna: 1852. 8vo.

Holy Bible [in Tamil]. Madras: 1850. 8vo.

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Old and New Testaments in Modern Armenian, with
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Smyrna: 1853. 4to.

Magazine of Useful Knowledge, for 1839-42. Edited
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Royal 8vo.

Commentary on Matthew, in Armeno-Turkish. By Rev.
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The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. xv. Part 1. London : 1853.

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Asiatic Researches. Vols. vi.-xi., and xvii.-xx., with Index to the first 18 vols.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Nos. ix.-xx. and Nos. i.-iv. of 1852.

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Journal Asiatique. iv^e Série, Tome xix. Paris : 1852.

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The Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. New York : 1853.

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The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Edited by the Secretary. Nos. xv.-xvii., Jan. and July, 1852, and Jan., 1853. Bombay.

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Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, from Sept., 1850 to June, 1852. Edited by the Secretary. Vol. x. Bombay: 1852.

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By H. J. Carter, Esq., Bombay Medical Service, etc. (from the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal As. Society, Jan., 1852).

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Symbolæ ad historiam antiquiorem Rerum Norvegicarum. Ed. P. A. Munch, Historr. Prof. Accedunt duæ tabb. lithogr. arte expressæ. Christianiæ: 1850. 4to. Saga Olafs Konungs ens Helga. . . . udgivet efter Foranstaltning af det akademiske Collegium ved det Kongelige Norske Frederiks Universitet. Christiania: 1853. 8vo.

Kong Olaf Tryggvesöns Saga, forfattet paa Latin Henimod Slutningen af det tolfte Aarhundrede af Add Snorreson . . . og siden bearbejdet paa Norsk. . . . ud-

- given af P. A. Munch, Prof. i Hist. ved Universitet i Christiania. Med et lithographeret Blad indeholdende Skriftprover. Christiania: 1853. 8vo.
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- Jus Nauticum recentius quod inter Norvegos olim valuit. Latine reddidit pauculisque annotationibus adauxit P. A. Munch, Historr. Lector. Christianiæ: [1838.] 4to.
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- Beretning om Kongeriget Norges økonomiske Tilstand i Aarene 1846–1850 med tilhørende Tabeller. Christiania: 1853. Sm. fol.
- Grammatik for Zulu-Sproget, forfattet af H. P. S. Schreuder, ordineret Præst og Missionær i Sydafrika. Med Fortale og Anmærkninger af C. A. Holmboe, Prof. i de österland. Sprog ved Norges Universitet. Christiania: 1850. 8vo.
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- Rig-Veda-Sanhita, the Sacred Hymns of the Brahmins; together with the Commentary of Sayanacharya. Edited by Dr. Max Müller. Published under the patronage of the Hon. the East India Company. Vols. I II. London: 1849–1854.
- By the Directors of the Hon. East India Company.*

Bibliotheca Godofredi Hermanni. Lipsiæ : [1854.]
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Libri Arabici Fakihat, etc., seu Fructus Imperatorum et
 Jocatio Ingeniosorum, auctore . . . Ebn-Arabschah,
 primum . . . editi . . . a Georg. Guil. Freytag. Dr. . . .
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 Buddhist Liturgy. "
 A Chinese Chrestomathy, in the Canton Dialect. By
 E. C. Bridgman. Macao : 1841. 4to.
 A Lexilogus of the English, Malay and Chinese Lan-
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 last in the Hok-keen and Canton Dialects. Malacca :
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 A Grammar of the English Language, for the use of the
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 cao : 1823. 8vo.

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 Band vii. Hefte 1, 2, 3, 4 ; Bd. viii. Hefte 1, 2. Leip-
 zig : 1853-54.
 Indische Studien . . . herausgegeben von Dr. A. Weber.
 Band ii. Heft 3 ; Bd. iii. Heft 1. Berlin : 1853.
 Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici Tomus Primus, sive Octa-
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 crit. instr. Dr. Augustus Dillmann, Professor Tubing-
 ensis. Fasc. Primus, qui continet Genesin, Exodum,
 Leviticum cum appar. crit. Impensarum partem
 suppedit. Soc. Germ. Orient. Lipsiæ : 1853.

By the German Oriental Society.

- A Chinese and English Vocabulary, in the Tie Chin Dia-
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By the Author.

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Grammaire Russe, divisée en Quatre Parties. . . . par G. Hamonière. Paris : 1817. 8vo.

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Proceedings of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Past and Present State of the Kafirs in the District of Natal. . . . Parts I.-V. Natal : 1852-53.

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By Prof. Fitz Edward Hall, Benares.

Literaturgeschichte der Araber. Von ihrem Beginne bis zu Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts der Hidschret. Von Hammer-Purgstall. Erste Abth. Vierter Band. Wien : 1853. 4to.

Das Arabische Hohe Lied der Liebe, das ist Ibnol Fáridh's Táijet in Text und Uebersetzung, zum ersten Male . . . herausgegeben von Hammer-Purgstall. Wien : 1854. 4to.

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Evangelio ta Yunaotele Malkose. The Gospel according to St. Mark, translated into the Kikamba Language, by Rev. Dr. J. L. Krapf, Missionary of the Ch. Miss. Soc. in E. Africa. Tübingen : 1850.

By the Translator.

Karte von Alt-Indien, zu Prof. Chr. Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, bearbeitet und gezeichnet von Dr. H. Kiepert. 1853.

By Prof. Chr. Lassen, Bonn.

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[Chinese] Representation of Puto, an island of the Chusan Archipelago, exclusively inhabited by Buddhist priests.

Paradise of Buddha, published at Puto, being a representation of the same in *basso relievo* in the temples of the island.

[Chinese] Delineation of all the different Tributary States. New Edition.

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By Dr. D. J. Macgowan, Ningpo.

Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States. Collected and prepared . . . by Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL. D. Published by authority of Congress. Parts III.-IV. Philadelphia : 1853-54. 4to.

By Mr. G. W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

A Fragment of a Skull from Nineveh. [Found in a sarcophagus, together with gold necklaces, ear-rings, finger-rings, etc.]

By Rev. D. W. Marsh, Mosul.

First Annual Report of the Trustees of the New Bedford City Library. New Bedford: 1853. pp. 31.

By the Trustees.

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By the Publisher, Mr. C. B. Norton.

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By the Patent-Office.

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By Rev. Dr. J. Perkins, Orûmiâh.

Kshitiçavançavalicaritam. A Chronicle of the Family of Râja Krishnachandra of Navadvîpa, Bengal. Edited and translated by W. Pertsch.

By the Editor.

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By Rev. J. L. Wilson.

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Seven " Grebo Lessons.

View of a Grebo town near Cape Palmas, W. Africa. (2 copies.)

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SELECT MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

AN Annual Meeting was held in Boston, on the 18th and 19th of May, 1853.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for 1853-54 :

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<i>Directors,</i>	Rev. T. Parker,	" Boston,
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	Mr. W. W. Greenough	"

The following papers were communicated :

Ethnographic View of Western Africa ; by Rev. J. L. Wilson, Missionary in W. Africa.

Hindû Dialectics ; by Rev. H. R. Hoisington, Missionary in Ceylon.

The Leading Characteristics of the Civilizations of the East ; by Prof. A. Guyot of Cambridge, Mass.

A Short Chapter in the History of Bâbeeism in Persia; by Rev.

A. H. Wright, M. D., Missionary in Persia.

The Talaing Language; by Rev. F. Mason, Missionary in Burma.

On the Karens; by Rev. E. B. Cross, Missionary in Burma.

A Semi-Annual Meeting was held in New Haven, on the 26th and 27th of October, 1853.

A letter from Rev. D. T. Stoddard, dated Orûmiah, July 18th, 1853; announces the completion of a grammar of the Modern Syriac. Mr. Stoddard says: "I have undertaken to trace up the Modern Syriac to the Ancient, to show its connection with the Hebrew, and to describe briefly its relations to the Persian, Turkish and Koordish."*

The following papers were presented :

The Treaty between the United States of America and the Sultân of Maskat; by Mr. A. I. Cotheal, of New York.

The Languages of Africa, and their Relations to other Languages; by Rev. Dr. J. C. Adamson, late Principal of the South-African College at Capetown.

Some Points connected with the Orthography of the Zulu Language; by Rev. L. Grout and Rev. J. L. Döhne, Missionaries in S. Africa.

The Present State and Prospects of the English Language and English Education in India; by Rev. Dr. D. O. Allen, Missionary in India.

The Mode of Writing the Colloquial Chinese Dialects; by Rev. M. C. White, Missionary in China.

The Sites of Jotapata and Cana in Galilee; by Rev. Dr. E. Robinson of New York.

On the History of the Vedic Texts; by Prof. W. D. Whitney of New Haven.

Dr. Brugsch's Labors on the Demotic Character and Language; by Mr. W. W. Turner of Washington, D. C.

* This Grammar may be expected to appear in the next Number of this Journal.—COMM. OF PUBL.

AN Annual Meeting was held in Boston, on the 17th of May, 1854.

The officers of the last year were re-elected, with the exception that Mr. E. Abbott, Jr. of Cambridge, Mass., was chosen Treasurer in the place of Mr. Short, whose removal to Philadelphia made it expedient to elect a substitute.

A letter from Dr. H. Lobdell, dated Orûmiah, Aug. 15, 1853, mentions his having "lately made a tour through Kôrdistan by a route for the most part hitherto untrodden by any of our countrymen." He "visited Arbeel, spent some days with Kûrdish chiefs in the mountains, and discovered a basalt pillar hitherto unknown since the Christian era, cut with cuneiform characters and important for various historical reasons." Dr. L. proposes to report to the Society his observations on this tour.

A letter from Mr. J. R. Logan, dated Pinang, Nov. 17, 1853, contains the following suggestion. "One of the chief desiderata at this time, in Eastern ethnology, is a comparative grammar of the Dravirian or non-Arian languages and dialects of India. As soon as missionaries have published sufficient details for particular dialects, some competent cultivator of them should prepare such a grammar, using Roman and not native characters, and giving interlined or word for word translations of all examples illustrative of collocation, structure, etc. There are now abundance of materials in English and German for such a grammar of the Dravirian languages."

The following papers were presented :

An Essay on the seven Mu'allakahs, with Notices of their Authors ;
by Prof. E. E. Salisbury of New Haven.

On the Origin of the Pelasgians ; by Dr. J. G. Günther of Roxbury, Mass.

The Prussian Expedition to Egypt under Lepsius, and its Results ;
by Prof. W. D. Whitney of New Haven.

The following were reported to the Society, but for want of time not read :

The Transmigrations of Gautama ; compiled from the Burmese by
Mrs. H. M. Mason.

The Armenian Tradition as to the Resting-Place of Noah's Ark; by Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary in Turkey. Also, a *Translation from Mesrop's Armenian Grammar*, in which the attempt is made to prove that the Armenian language was the original language of the human race; by the same.

A Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language, as spoken in Oroomiah, Persia, and in Koordistan; by Rev. D. T. Stoddard, Missionary in Persia.

A Letter on some Recent Discoveries at Koyunjik; by Dr. H. Lobdell, Missionary at Mosul.

ARTICLE I.

த த் து வ க் க ட் ட னா.

TATTUVA-KATTALEI,
LAW OF THE TATTUVAM.

A

SYNOPSIS

OF THE

MYSTICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE HINDÛS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL,

WITH NOTES.

BY

REV. HENRY R. HOISINGTON,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN CEYLON.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE following article is a close translation, with explanatory notes, of a treatise entitled *Tattuva-Kattalei*, the Law of the *Tattuvam*, or of things according to their Essential Nature. The subject of which this treatise gives a bare synopsis, is fully exhibited in an original Tamil work, consisting of four hundred and sixteen closely written foolscap pages. This large work is polemical, maintaining the Sâiva views in this department of Hindûism. It is denominated *Tattuva-Pirakâsam* (தத்துவப்பிரகாசம்), the Elucidation of the *Tattuvam*. Both these works, which present the same phase of doctrine, are constructed on the principle that man is a miniature universe complete. They present the origin and nature of man, and, also, of all that constitutes the universe.

The brief treatise here presented, does not follow the order in which the topics are arranged and treated in the larger work referred to. It was probably designed as a manual or guide for the Guru, rather than as a text-book for the disciple. It is too brief, in itself, to give any intelligible view of the system to the uninitiated. Yet as a help to those who would look into the mysteries of Hindûism, it is important, if not indispensable. It stands related to the whole system of their mystic philosophy, somewhat as the Greek grammar does to the whole course of the Greek classics—dry to the beginner, but continually gathering interest as one advances in the vast field before him.

The notes which are dispersed throughout the treatise, will, it is hoped, render the whole more intelligible and readable, and help to bring the system more distinctly to view. They are designedly as brief as the nature of the subject seemed to allow. All the explanations are based on the authority of native commentaries, as yet found only in Tamil.

The *Tattuwa-Pirakāsam* is the only full and complete work on the Tattuvam of which I have any knowledge. Other brief treatises on the Tattuvam are to be found in both Tamil and Sanskrit. Belonging to different Schools of philosophers, they vary from each other as to the number of the Tattuvam, and in some other respects. The *Tattuwa-Kattalei* gives the highest number of Tattuvam any where named, and is more systematic and complete than any other of the smaller treatises which I have seen. It presents the standard system of the orthodox Sāivas of Southern India and Ceylon. According to this treatise, there are thirty-six *Primary*, and sixty *Subordinate*, Tattuvam. The *Primary Tattuvam* are divided into three general classes, successively developed. From the first class named in the order of this work (which is the last of the three in the order of development), are developed the sixty *Subordinate Tattuvam*.

Our author first barely names the three classes of Primary Tattuvam, and then gives a general specification of the sixty Subordinate.

Next succeeds a statement of the order of development, beginning with the highest, or most remote and subtle existences, and running through the series down to the grossest of the elements, earth. This development of universal being is given as it is manifest in the miniature universe, man.

After this, the Primary Tattuvam are taken in order, and very briefly explained as to their relations to one another, their functions in the human microcosm, etc. etc.

Then follows a view of the states of the soul in its various physiological relations, explaining the phenomena of life, consciousness, activity, and death.

Then are presented the leading states and circumstances of the soul, in its organism, in respect to its moral and religious character, present condition, and ultimate prospects.

This order is preserved in the translation, and the sections are marked accordingly.

The term *tattuvam* is of Sanskrit origin, and, when transferred from the Sanskrit, is spelt *tattuwa*. As this paper is a translation from Tamil, it has seemed well to preserve the Tamil orthography in this and other technical terms.

The meaning of *tattuvam* is *essential nature*, or *property*, of any thing, and hence, in common language, *power*. In this system, it is used to designate any essential part of the

human organism; as, element, sense, organ, property, faculty, whether visible or invisible, active or inert. It has been variously rendered in English by *category*, *principle*, *power*, *organ*, *property*. But no one of these terms correctly and fully expresses the meaning of the original. It has no equivalent in our language; nor can it have in any language where the force of terms is limited by true philosophy. The ideas wrapped up in *tattuvam* confound the physical and the metaphysical, the real and the imaginary. Hence it will be necessary, in most cases, to retain the original term.

These remarks will apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to other terms occurring in this paper; and must furnish the apology for their appearance untranslated.

TATTUVA-KATTALEI.

SECTION I.

THE THIRTY-SIX PRIMARY TATTUVAM.

THESE are divided into three classes, denominated *Âttuma-Tattuvam*; *Vittiyû-Tattuvam*; *Siva-Tattuvam*.

1. *Âttuma-Tattuvam* (ஆத்துமத்துவம்), the Proper Tattuvam [or peculiar properties] of souls.

NOTE.—The term *âttuma* is the adjective form of the noun *âttu-mam* (ஆத்துமம்), meaning *soul*, or, as a noun of multitude, *souls*.

These Tattuvam are also called *Asutta-Tattuvam* (அசுத்தத்துவம்), the Impure Tattuvam; and *Pôkkiya-Kânḍam* (போக்கியகாண்டம்), the Instruments of Pleasure. They are twenty-four in number, divided as follows.

1. The five *Pûtham* (பூதம்), Elements, viz: *piruthuvi* (பிருதுவி), earth; *appu* (அப்பு), water; *tēyu* (தேயு), fire; *vāyu* (வாயு), air; *ākāsam* (ஆகாசம்), ether.

2. The five *Gnānēntiriyam* (ஞானேந்திரியம்), Perceptive Organs [or senses]. These are: *sōttiram* (சோத்திரம்), ears; *tokku* (தொக்கு), skin; *sadhu* (சட்சு), eyes; *singuguvei* (சிங்குவை), tongue; *ikkirāṇam* (இக்கிராணம்), nose.

NOTE.—Though these Tattuvam are thus denominated, yet they do not mean the visible ears, skin, etc. Skin, flesh, bones, etc., are distinguished from these organs, and are classed under *Subordinate Tattuvam*. The terms here mean those subtle, yet material, organisms, or invisible mechanisms, which possess the functions implied.

3. The five *Tanmāttirei* (தன்மாத்திரை), Rudimental Elements, viz: *sattam* (சத்தம்), sound; *parisam* (பரிசம்), touch; *rūpam* (ரூபம்), form; *rasam* (இரசம்), taste; *kantam* (கந்தம்), smell.

NOTE.—These Tattuvam are imperceptible, except to the gods, and to the illuminated sense of the *Gnāni*, or Wise Man. Yet they are substantial, and from them the grosser Elements, named above, are developed. They are the subjects, or recipients, of the archetypes of sound, tangibility, form or color, flavor, and odor—one of which is supposed to be present in every act of sensation. These archetypes are something more than mere qualities. They are a sort of “corporeal effluvia,” or “exuvius images of bodies,” as Empedocles and Democritus would call them.

4. The five *Kanmēntiriyam* (கன்மேந்திரியம்), Organs of Action, viz: *vāṅku* (வாக்கு), mouth; *pātham* (பாதம்), feet; *pāṇi* (பாணி), hands; *pāyuru* (பாயுரு), excretory organs; *upattam* (உபத்தம்), genital organs.

NOTE.—These, like the perceptive Tattuvam, are the inner, or imperceptible organic structures, in which the implied operative powers, or functions, respectively inhere.

5. The four *Antakaraṇam* (அந்தக்கரணம்), Intellectual Organic Faculties, viz: *manam* (மனம்), the understanding; *putti* (புத்தி), the judgment; *akāṅkāram* (அகங்காரம்), the individuality; *sittam* (சித்தம்), the will.

NOTE.—These are corporeal organs or faculties, and have no life, or power of acting, independent of the soul. Independent of them, the soul has no intellectual life or action. Hence, they are *intellectual senses*, holding a similar relation to reflection, which the five senses do to perception. These Tattuvam will be further explained below.

II. *Vittiyā-Tattuvam* (வித்தியாதத்துவம்). These are seven in number, viz: *kālam* (காலம்), time; *niyathi* (நியதி), fate; *kalei* (கலை), continency [self-government]; *vitteri* (வித்தை), thought; *rākam* (இராகம்), desire; *purushan* (புருஷன்), life; *māyei* (மாயை), delusion.

These are otherwise denominated *Asutta-Tattuvam* (அசுத்தத்துவம்), the Impure Tattuvam; and *Pōkkiya-Kāṇḍam* (போக்கியகாண்டம்), the Instruments of Pleasure.

NOTE.—These seven Tattuvam are essential to man in his state of probation; while the *Āttima-Tattuvam* are essential to his animal and intellectual existence. The *Vittiyā* are the higher order of Tattuvam, and act as prompters and directors to the soul in its animal organism. As they lead the soul through evil as well as good ac-

tions, and secure to it painful as well as pleasurable experience, they are sometimes called, like the first class of Tattuvam, which are the instruments in these courses of action and experience, Impure Tattuvam, and Instruments of Pleasure. They are designated *Vitthi*, from *vittei*, signifying *knowledge*, *examination*, etc., because they are essential to the proper thought, or consciousness, of the soul, in its disciplinary state.

III. *Siva-Tattuvam* (சிவத்துவம்), the Divine Tattuvam [or the developments of Deity]. These, five in number, are otherwise denominated *Pirera-Kāṇḍam* (பிரேரகாண்டம்), the Operative [or effective] Instruments; and *Sutta-Tattuvam* (சுத்தத்துவம்), the Pure Tattuvam.

These are *Sutta-Vithei* (சுத்தவித்தை); *Ichchuran* (ஈச்சுரன்); *Sāthākkiyam* (சாதாக்கியம்); *Satti* (சத்தி); and *Sivam* (சிவம்).

These complete the thirty-six *Primary Tattuvam*.

NOTE.—The order in which these divine powers are developed, is the reverse of that in which they are here given. *Sivam* is the Male Energy of Deity developed in a material organism. *Satti* is the Female Energy of Deity thus developed and organized. *Sāthākkiyam* is the highest form, or organism, in which the two Energies are developed. *Ichchuran* is the organism through which the obscuring agency of Deity is exerted. *Sutta-Vithei* is the power of destruction and reproduction; and when further developed, appears in the forms of *Ruttiran* or *Sivan*, *Vishṇu* and *Brahmā*. The relations and functions of these will be further explained below.

SECTION II.

THE SUBORDINATE TATTUVAM.

I. *Puranilei-Karuvika* (புரநிலைகருவிகள்), the External [or visible] Instruments, developed from the Elements.

From *piruthuvi*, earth, spring these five, viz: hair; bone; skin; nerves and tendons; muscle.

From *appu*, water, the following five arise, viz: watery secretions, such as tears, phlegm, ear-wax, serum, etc.; red-blood; semen; brains, marrow, fat, etc.; excrescences, such as warts, moles, white flesh, etc.

From *tēyu*, fire, are developed the following five Tattuvam, viz: appetite; sleep; fear; sexual pleasure; gaping, stretching, etc.

From *vāyu*, air, emanate the following five Tattuvam, viz: running; sitting; walking; lying; standing.

NOTE.—These form what are supposed to be the *connecting organisms*, lying between the soul and other Tattuvam, and which are essential to the existence of the animal phenomena named.

From *ākāsam*, ether, are produced the following five Tattuvam, viz: those which prompt to lust; to good and evil acts towards others; to giving and withholding; to desire in general; to admiration, surprise, etc.

In all, there are twenty-five.

II. *Tesa-Vāyukaḷ* (தெசவாயுகள்), the Ten Vital Airs [or animal spirits], viz:

Pirānan (பிராணன்) [that which causes respiration, and keeps up all the vital actions].

Apānan (அபாணன்) [that which separates the excrementitious and urinary matter, and prompts to void them].

Uthānan (உதானன்) [that which causes hiccoughs, strangling, etc.].

Viyānan (வியானன்) [that which absorbs and distributes the chyle].

Samānan (சமானன்) [that which secures due proportions in the several parts of the body].

Nākan (நாகன்) [that which produces coughing, sneezing, etc.].

Kūrman (கூர்மன்) [that which produces bending, stretching, gaping, etc.].

Kirutharan (கிருதரன்) [that which opens and shuts the eyes, or causes winking].

Tēvatattan (தேவதத்தன்) [that which causes laughing, smiling, etc.].

Tanagncheyan (தனஞ்செயன்) [that which causes swelling in the body before and after death, and which at last splits the head, and escapes].

NOTE.—These ten are all developed from the Element air. Authors differ somewhat respecting their powers or functions. The specifications above given are the more common, and are taken from other authorities in Tamil. Our author gives merely the terms,

leaving it for the Guru to communicate their meaning. These Aïrs are obviously a device to supply the place of the involuntary nerves.

III. *Vasanāthikal* (வசனாதிக்கள்), the Five Vital Aïrs [or animal spirits]. These are: *vasanam* (வசனம்), speech; *ke-manam* (கேமனம்), loco-motion; *tānam* (தானம்), giving; *vikatpam* (விகற்பம்), excretion; *ānantam* (ஆனந்தம்), sexual pleasure.

NOTE.—These are a class of Aïrs which operate exclusively on the five Organs of Action. They seem to be, in their functions, what we should style voluntary nervous powers. They perform the offices of what Locke calls “nervous or animal spirits,” conveying to the “seat of sensation” “some motion” which has been produced by “singly imperceptible bodies” that proceed from objects of sense; and, also, convey the commands of the soul to the Organs of Action.

IV. *Tesa-Nādi* (தேசநாடி), the Ten Tubes [or tubular organs]. These are: *idei* (இடை); *pingkalei* (பிங்கலை); *sulimunei* (சுழிமுனை); *kāntāri* (காந்தாரி); *atti* (அத்தி); *singnguwei* (சிங்குவை); *alampurudei* (அலம்புருடை); *purudan* (புருடன்); *sangkini* (சங்கினி); *vayiravan* (வயிரவன்).

NOTE.—These *Nādi* are the channels for the Aïrs. They ramify into seventy-two thousand branches, and pervade every part of the human microcosm. I give, from other Tamil authors, a brief account of the principal *Nādi*, and of some of their leading branches.

Idei-nādi rises in the left side of the lower pelvis, from whence it passes off in two branches, one running upwards, and the other down the left leg to the great toe.

Pingkalei-nādi rises in the right side of the lower pelvis, where it divides into two parts, one running upwards, and the other down the right leg to the great toe.

Sulimunei-nādi rises *ab ano* and proceeds *ad genitalia*, where it several times encircles the mystic *Om* (ஓம்), the symbol of the productive powers of Deity; thence its main part, called *nīlam* (நீளம்), runs directly to the head. This is the *Makā-Mēru* (மகாமேரு), or the Golden Mountain, in the human microcosm.

The upward branches of *idei* and *pingkalei* run diagonally, and meet in *genitalibus*, where they encircle *sulimunei*, forming an arch over *Om*. This is Brahmā's seat or throne.

These two *Nādi* proceed thence diagonally to the sides of the pelvis, and return and meet in the region of the navel, where they again encircle *sulimunei*, forming an arch or canopy. This is Vishṇu's seat.

Proceeding thence diagonally upward, as before, these *Nādi* meet in the region of the heart, or, rather, as the locality is described, in the stomach, where they encircle *suḷimunei*, forming another *āthāram* (ஆதாரம்), seat. This is the throne of Ruttiran or Sivan.

Then proceeding as before, they meet and encircle *suḷimunei* in the back of the neck. This forms the seat of *Mayēsuran* (மேயசுரன்).

Again, passing on as before, they meet in the forehead between the eyebrows. "In this region of light," they form the throne of the Illuminator, *Sathāsivan* (சதாசிவன்).

From thence they proceed to, and terminate in, the nostrils.

The several circles described above, with *suḷimunei* running through them, form in each case a *Lingam* (இலிங்கம்), or, which is here substantially the same, an *Om*. These symbols constitute a great item in the mystic doctrines and worship of all sects of Hindūs.

Kāntāri-nādi rises in the region of the heart, from *suḷimunei*, and terminates in the eyes.

Atti-nādi rises from *suḷimunei*, in the region of the heart, and ramifying in several directions, terminates in the bones.

Singguveī-nādi branches off from *suḷimunei*, in the region of the heart, and terminates in the tongue.

Alampurudai-nādi springs from *suḷimunei*, in the region of the heart, and terminates in the ears.

Puruda-nādi springs, in the region of the heart, from *suḷimunei*, and branching out, terminates in the arms, and in the muscles which raise and move the arms.

Saṅgini-nādi rises from *suḷimunei*, in the region of the heart, and making various circuits, terminates in *genitalibus et ano*.

Vayirava-nādi rises, and after making different circuits, terminates, like the preceding *Nādi*.

The connection of the Ten Vital Airs with these *Nādi*, is here very briefly given, from other authorities.

Pirānan, which is properly the vitalizing Air, and remains in action while life continues, runs naturally through *suḷimunei*; but when the passage of this *Nādi* is closed, which is the case in certain states of the system, then this Air, running from the nostrils, passes around the skull or brain, and then proceeds downwards, sometimes by *idei*, and sometimes by *pingkalei*.

When *pirānan* proceeds by *idei*, or *pingkalei*, then *apānan* courses downwards by *vayiravan*, and discharges the urine and feces.

Uthānan proceeds by *atti* to the neck, arrests or checks *pirānan*, and causes hiccoughs, choking, and swelling or stoppage in the windpipe.

Viyānan runs through *kāntāri*, causes the mouth to give utterance, and disperses the chyle into seventy thousand blood-vessels.

Samānan flows through *sangkini*, mingles with the contents of the heart, and gives symmetry to the body.

Nākan flows along *alampurudei*, and by means of the brain causes sneezing.

Kūrman flows along *purudan*, and seizing the arms and the lips, causes stretching and gaping.

Kirutharan runs along *singnguwei*, seizes the eyelids, and causes winking.

Tēvatattan flows along *sangkini*, courses through the face, lights up the countenance, and causes laughter, etc.

Tanagncheyan courses or stands in the skin, and at death, when the other *Airs* cease, puffs up and breaks the skin.

V. The four *Vāḱku* (வாக்கு). These are: *sūkkumei* (சூக்குமை); *peisanti* (பைசந்தி); *mattimei* (மத்திமை); *veikari* (வைகரி).

NOTE.—These constitute the organic bases of intelligent ideas and language, as laid in the human microcosm. They will be explained below.

VI. *Mukkuṇam* (முக்குணம்), the Three *Kuṇam*, Moral Properties. These are: *sāttuvikam* (சாத்துவிகம்); *rāsatham* (இராசதம்); *tāmatham* (தாமதம்).

NOTE.—The term *kuṇam* (குணம்) means *quality*, *temper*, *disposition*, etc. But in this system it is a thing, a material existence, the source of moral qualities. According to another Tamil author, the Three *Kuṇam* are explained as follows.

Sāttuvikam (lit. goodness) prompts to *gnānam*, divine wisdom; to the proper observance of rules and ceremonies; to truth; and to love.

Rāsatham (lit. passion, or foul disposition) produces *pride* and selfishness—possesses the propensities to pride and selfishness.

Tāmatham (lit. darkness) prompts to stupidity, laziness, and sleep. Their relations and functions in the human system will be more fully explained hereafter.

VII. The three *Akaṅkāram* (அகங்காரம்), viz: *teisatham* (தைசதம்); *veikari* (வைகரி); *pūthāthi* (பூதாதி).

These complete the ninety-six *Tattuvam*.

NOTE.—The term *akaṅkāram* means *pride*, or a sense of self-individualism. In the case before us, it is an organism; and, in its three-fold development and relations in the human system, operates variously, as will be seen in other parts of this treatise.

SECTION III.

TÖTTAM ODUKKAM (தோற்றம் ஒடுக்கம்),

DEVELOPMENT AND RESOLUTION OF THE TATTUVAM.

By the grace of *Parama-Sivan's Parā-Satti* (பரமசிவனுடை பராசத்தி), *Nātham* (நாதம்), the Male Energy of Deity, is developed from *kudilei* (குடிலை) [the primeval *Māyei*], Elemental Matter; from *Nātham* is developed *Vintu* (வீந்து), the Female Energy of Deity; from *Vintu* is developed *Sāthākkīyam* (சாதாக்கியம்), the highest form of organized Deity [that combines the two Energies]; from *Sāthākkīyam* is developed *Mayēsuran* (மயேசுரன்), the Obscuring God; and from *Mayēsuran* is developed *Sutta-Vitlei* (சுத்தவித்தை) [otherwise called *Rudra*, or *Ruttiran* (உருத்திரன்), the Destroying God, or the Reproducer].

For the use of these five divine developments [in their coöperation with the human soul], are evolved, from the before-mentioned *Vintu*, the following Tattuvam, viz: the four *Vāṅku*; the fifty-one letters of the Sanskrit; the eighty-one *Patham* (பதம்), Formulas for religious worship; the seventy millions of *Makā-Mantiram* (மகாமந்திரம்), Great mystic Formulas; and all the *Sāstiram* (சாஸ்திரம்), Sacred Treatises. Also, for the *Vignnānakalar* (விஞ்ஞானகலர்), the class of souls that are under the control of but one *malam* (மலம்), and for the *Pirālayākalar* (பிரளயாகலர்), souls under the influence of two *malam*, are produced *tanu* (தனு), external forms; *karaṇam* (கரணம்), external organs; *puvanam* (புவனம்), localities in the body; and *pōkam* (போகம்), means of enjoyment and suffering.

From the same source, also, are developed the three states of beatification, viz: *sālōkam* (சாலோகம்), position in the same world or locality with God; *sāmīpam* (சாமீபம்), position near God; *sārūpam* (சாரூபம்), position in the form of God. These are the respective positions of the soul when it has completed the several stages of religious life, called *sarīthei* (சரிதை), the Puranic or historic stage; *kirikei* (கிரிகை), the mystic or scientific stage; and *yōkam* (யோகம்), the meditative or ascetic stage. Finally, from the same are evolved the five *kalei* (கலை), portions of the Tattuvam combined.

NOTE.—These five *kalei* are each a distinct *avathāram* (அவதாரம்), or organism, of the soul, composed of parts of the ninety-six *Tattuvam*, combined into a system by a distinct development. They are called *nivirti* (நிவிர்தி); *pirathittēi* (பிரதிட்டை); *vittei* (வித்தை); *sānti* (சாந்தி); *sāntiyāthāthei* (சாந்தியாதீதை). They will be explained below.

The term *malam*, meaning *impurity, evil*, will be of frequent occurrence. There are three *malam*, viz: *śūnyāyei*, matter in its obscuring or entangling power; *āṇavam* (ஆணவம்), source of sin; and *kanmam* (கன்மம்), cause of action. These will be more fully explained in another place.

It is manifest, from an inspection of the foregoing statements, that, while the author has his eye chiefly on the miniature universe, man, he necessarily includes the universe proper, in his strange enumeration and combination of things. That the two views are necessarily involved in this system, will be still more manifest from what follows.

Thus far we have the direct results of the cooperation of *Parama-Sivan*, the Supreme God, with *Parā-Satti*, the Supreme Satti, or consort of God. The organisms hitherto specified are from *sutta-māyei*, or pure Elemental Matter, which was eternally united with pristine Deity, but which had no connection with Soul, or with *malam*, the evil which affects the soul in its several states of existence.

Next are presented the works, or productions, of the developed or fully organized deities above named, in coöperation with their proper *Satti*. The organisms next produced are from *asutta-māyei*, an impure form of Elemental Matter, which was eternally associated with Soul, and in which the two *malam*, *āṇavam* and *kanmam*, or original impurity, and the consequent experience, such as good and evil acts, pleasure and pain, inhered.

By the Grace (= *Satti*) of the Infinite God (= *Sāthākkīyam*), are developed from *asutta-māyei* the first three of the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam*, viz: *kālam*, time; *niyathi*, fate; and *kalei*, continency. And from *kalei* two others are evolved, viz: *vitte*, thought; and *rākam*, desire.

NOTE.—Thus far we have the work of *Sāthākkīyam*, or *Sathāsivan*, and his *Satti*. Next are enumerated the productions of *Rut-tiran*, the *Sutta-Vittei* above named, and his *Satti*. *Pirakiruthi*, named below, is the same as the Sanskrit *prakriti*. In Tamil, the word has various meanings, as, *foundation, source, cause, nature*. In this connection, it obviously means the *material source, or cause*, of the succeeding productions. It is styled *māla-pirakiruthi*, or the fundamental cause, as the ultimate source to which all the succeeding organisms may be traced.

By means of the Grace (= *Satti*) of *Ruttiran*, *mūla-pirakiruthi* (மூலப்பிரகிருதி) is evolved from the last mentioned *kalei*. From *mūla-pirakiruthi*, the *Mukkuṇam*, Three Moral Properties, are developed. The position of the *Mukkuṇam* as undeveloped *pirakiruthi*, is called *avviyattam* (அவ்வியத்தம்) [=Sanskrit *avyakta*].

From this *avviyattam* are evolved *sittam*, the will, and *putti*, the judgment. From *putti* is evolved *akangkāram*, the individuality.

This *akangkāram* is the *Tattuvam* which individualizes, and leads one to say: "I myself," etc. It has a three-fold form, viz: *teisatha-akangkāram*, *veikari-akangkāram*, and *pūthāthi-akangkāram*.

From *teisatha-akangkāram* are evolved *manam*, the understanding, and the *Gñānēntiriyam*, five Perceptive Organs; in which the *sāttuvika-kuṇam* operates.

From *veikari-akangkāram* are evolved the five Organs of Action; in which the *rāsatha-kuṇam* operates.

From *pūthāthi-akangkāram* are evolved the five Rudimental Elements, viz: *sattam*, *parisam*, *rūpam*, *rasam*, and *kantam*; in which the *tāmatha-kuṇam* operates.

From *sattam* is evolved *ākāsam*, ether; from *parisam* emanates *vāyu*, air; from *rūpam* emanates *tēyu*, fire; from *rasam* emanates *appu*, water; from *kantam* emanates *piruthuvi*, earth.

ODUKKAM, RESOLUTION OF THE TATTUVAM.

At the time of the dissolution of the universe, all these things will be resolved, by successive steps, into their original forms.

Thus end the evolution and resolution of the universe.

NOTE.—According to the doctrine of the Sāiva School, at the close of every *katpam* (கற்பம்), great period, there will be a complete dissolution, and rendering back to their primordial state, of all developed existences, excepting souls. Even Deity will then "sleep" as He did before the creation. But souls, once developed, and delivered from the thralldom of their *malam*, will ever remain intimately united with Deity, clothed in the "resplendent *gnānam*."

SECTION IV.

KUṆṆANGĀL (குணங்கள்), FUNCTIONS OF THE TATTUVAM.

I. *Functions of the Āttuma-Tattuvam.*

1. Of the Elements: *piruthuvi*, earth, envelops and strengthens the parts; *appu*, water, cools and expands; *tēyu*, fire, warms and gives unity [to the whole organism]; *vāyu*, air, gives sound and rotundity [to the parts]; *ākāsam*, ether, gives space.

NOTE.—According to this philosophy, ether is universally diffused. It not only forms space, but is the essential medium through which bodies, separated from one another, may mutually operate.

2. Of the Perceptive Organs: *sōttiram*, ears, perceive sound; *tokku*, skin, understands touch; *saḍchu*, eyes, perceive form; *sing̣guvei*, tongue, discriminates flavor; *ākki-rānam*, nose, has the knowledge of odor.

NOTE.—These, as before stated, are not the external organs, which are composed of skin, muscle, etc.; but those finer portions of the organs of sense, to which these functions more properly belong. They may exist independent of the external body. Hence they are sometimes called the Organs of Intelligence, *Puttiyintiriyam*.

3. Of the Organs of Action: *vāḱku*, mouth, enunciates; *pāṭham*, feet, produce loco-motion; *pāṇi*, hands, give and receive; *pāyuru*, excretory organs, separate and emit the excretions; *upattam*, genital organs, give pleasure.

4. Of the Intellectual Organic Faculties: *manam*, the understanding, apprehends; *putti*, the judgment, decides, judges, purposes; *akangkāram*, the individuality, holds as one's own, individualizes, prompts to action; *sittam*, the will, thinks clearly, wills.

NOTE.—These are mere organs, through which the soul is enabled to exercise the functions named, and without which it has no such powers. They are properly intellectual senses.

II. *Functions of the Vittiya-Tattuvam.*

1. *Kālam*, time, is distinguished into *chel-kālam* (செல்காலம்), past time; *nikal-kālam* (நிகழ்காலம்), present time; *ēṭir-kālam* (எதிர்காலம்), future time.

NOTE.—The use of terms here, as elsewhere, is somewhat peculiar to the system. Each of the *times* named above, has a further three-fold distinction, having reference to the existence of the soul.

(1.) *Chel-kālam*, past time, refers, first, when considered in reference to the general universe, to the *primordial state* of the soul. But when considered in reference to the soul after its first development, it refers to its existence “in the loins of its father,” before any given birth.

Secondly, when reference is had to the order of development, *chel-kālam* refers to the time, or stage, in which the soul passes from the *Siva-Tattuvam* to the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam*. But when reference is had to the soul's progress through births, *chel-kālam* refers to the point of time when the soul passes from the father to the mother.

Thirdly, in the order of the general development, *chel-kālam* is the time of the soul's passage from the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam* to the *Āttuma-Tattuvam*. In the subordinate case, it is the time of the soul's birth into the world.

(2.) *Nikal-kālam*, present time, is the period of the soul's continuance in either of the three stages, i. e. either in *chel-kālam*, in *nikal-kālam*, or in *ethir-kālam*.

(3.) *Ethir-kālam*, future time, is the time of the soul's continuance in either of the three states included in *chel-kālam*, as defined in No. (1.).

Hence, writers often speak of nine *kālam*. Again, as all the nine are essentially involved in each of the three grand distinctions, they also make mention of twenty-seven *kālam*.

2. *Niyathi*, fate, makes *kanmam* sure, and secures to the soul all the fruits of one's own doings, and of his *āṇavamalam*, primordial depravity.

3. *Kaleri*, continency, gradually lessens and removes *āṇavamalam*.

NOTE.—This is the power by which the senses are subdued, and carnal self is brought into subjection.

4. *Vittei*, thought, wakes up understanding, and leads to wisdom.

5. *Rākam*, desire [or concupiscence] lessens the good obtained, and produces desire for what is not had [or for what is unlawful].

6. *Purushan*, life, establishes, or supports, the whole system in its operations.

7. *Māyei*, delusion, concentrates in itself the Three *Kuṇam*, viz: *sāttuvikam*, *rāsatham*, and *tāmatham*.

NOTE.—This is substantially the *mūla-pirakiruthi*, mentioned under the head of Development of the Tattuvam (Sec. III.). It lays the foundation for the operation of the Three *Kuṇam*, according as they are developed, in the various classes of organized beings. As an organ in the human microcosm, it is the form, or instrumentality, through which *Satti* performs one part of her office-work in this miniature world, or universe—that part in which she leads the soul on in a course of human action and experience.

III. Functions of the Siva-Tattuvam.

1. *Sivam*, or *Nātham*, is the form of *Siva-gnānam*, the wisdom of Sivan, and is that which leads the soul to Sivan.

2. *Satti*, or *Vintu*, is the form of action, the organized medium through which the soul is led into the state of grace. [It forms the medium of divine illumination.]

3. *Sāthākkiyam* is the form in which the two Energies of Deity are combined, and in which wisdom and action are perfectly balanced. [This is the source of grace to all souls.]

4. *Isuran* [*Ichchuran*, called also *Mayēsuran*], is the development in which *gnānam* is lessened, and *kirikei* (கிரிகை), action, predominates. [It is the source of darkness to souls.]

NOTE.—This form is, in man, the Obscuring God. He governs men in all their actions while they are filling out the requirements of their *vithi* (விதி), fate. He is practically the god of providence, but governs by the laws of stern necessity.

5. *Sutta-Vittei*, otherwise called *Ruttiran*, is the divine form in which *kirikei*, action, is less fully developed, and in which *gnānam* predominates. [He is the source of destruction to all organic existences.]

NOTE.—*Ruttiran* is called the Destroyer, because he carries on the process of reproduction in all animals and plants, or is the one who sends souls into successive bodies. This involves the destruction of the old body; hence his appellation of Destroyer. But Transformer, or Reproducer, or Regenerator, would be a more correct appellation.

This god is essentially the *Mummūrtti* (மும்மூர்த்தி), the common Triad, of the Hindūs: the three, *Brahmā*, *Vishṇu*, and *Sivan*, being an expansion of himself, by successive developments. The work of reproduction necessarily involves the functions of *Brahmā* the Generator, and *Vishṇu* the Preserver. These developments are, however, considered as actually made, and as existing, in every man.

Hence we have the five operative gods, which are usually named according to the natural order of their operations, beginning with the lowest and last developed: Brahmā, the Generator; Viṣṇu, the Preserver; Sivan or *Ruṭtiran*, the Reproducer; *Mayēsuran*, the Obscurer; and *Sathāsivan*, the Illuminator.

Their respective regions, or seats, in the human microcosm, are: the genitalia; the navel; the heart or stomach; the neck and chest; and the forehead, between the eyebrows.

SECTION V.

AVATTEI (அவத்தை), STATES OF THE SOUL.

The manner in which the soul is connected with the thirty-six Tattuvam, and how it is nourished and made intelligent in its organism, is now explained.

The *Avattei* are as follows, viz: five *Kīlāl-Avattei* (கீழால்-அவத்தை), Descending States; five *Mēlāl-Avattei* (மேலால்-அவத்தை), Ascending States; five *Sutta-Avattei* (சுத்தஅவத்தை) Pure States; and three *Kāraṇa-Avattei* (காரணஅவத்தை), Causative [or radical in reference to the preceding class of *Avattei*] States.

The whole number of *Avattei* is eighteen.

The names of the five Descending [and Ascending] States are: *sākkiram* (சாக்ஓரம்); *soppanam* (சொப்பனம்); *suḷutti* (சுழுத்தி); *turiyam* (துரியம்); *turiyāthiṭham* (துரியாதீதம்).

To the Ascending States belong thirty-six Tattuvam; to the Descending belong thirty-five.

I. Descending States of the Soul.

1. *Sākkiram*. This is an *avathāram*, organism, which connects the five Perceptive Organs, the five Rudimental Elements, the five Organs of Action, and the four Intellectual Organic Faculties, of the *Āttuma-Tattuvam*; *purushan* [or *uḷlam* (உள்ளம்)], life, one of the *Vīṭṭiyā-Tattuvam*; the Ten Vital Airts, and the Five Vital Airts, from the class of Subordinate Tattuvam. This complex *avathāram* is in the forehead, between the eyebrows. It brings the soul in connection only with the thirty-five Tattuvam here named.

2. *Soppanam*. This is the soul's *avathâram* in the neck, and connects twenty-five of the Tattuvam belonging to the previous state, viz: the five Rudimental Elements; the four Intellectual Organic Faculties; *purushan*, life; the Ten Vital Airs; and the Five Vital Airs.

3. *Sulutti*. This is an *avathâram* of the soul in the region of the heart, and connects only three Tattuvam, viz: *sittam*, the will; *pirâṇan* [the first of the Ten Vital Airs]; and *purushan*, life.

4. *Turiyam*. This is the *avathâram* of the soul in the region of the navel, and connects only two of the above named Tattuvam, viz: *pirâṇan*; and *purushan*.

5. *Turiyâthitham*.

NOTE.—This is the soul's *avathâram* in the human *lingam*, where it is connected with only one Tattuvam, *purushan*. It is the unconscious state of the soul just before death. The soul is represented as lying down in *purushan*, at the point of contact of the two parts of the *lingam*, and just ready to take its exit through *suḷimuneinâḍi*, which runs directly to the head.

The constitution of the Descending States involves the philosophy of death, and explains the successive states of the soul, from that of perfect consciousness, down to its unconscious state at death. This last state is sometimes denominated *athitha-kēvalam* (அதிதகேவலம்), a state of loneliness, in which none of the Tattuvam can reach, or affect, the soul. It is the state of the soul when life has ceased, or before its conception for a new birth.

The author next describes four states of the soul, beginning with this lowest, or unconscious state, and rising to a state of consciousness and activity. There are four states after leaving *kēvalam*. These he groups under the term

Kēvala-Avattei (கேவலஅவத்தை), *Unconscious States*.

The manner in which the soul is brought forth from its dormant state in *athitha-kēvalam*, to a conscious and communicative state, is as follows.

The splendid *Vintu-Satti*, in order that she might produce the four *Vâkku*, as the means through which the soul should be made to experience the proper results of its *kanmam*, former deeds, first developed a *nâtham*, a form of the Male Energy of Deity. This is the first of the four *Vâkku*, and is called *sūkkumei*.

NOTE.—This is the state of incipient consciousness, when the soul begins to be vivified.

The second *Vākku*, *peisanti*, is produced in the region of the navel, for the purpose of enabling the soul to discriminate the fifty-one letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, which letters exist, unperceived, in *sittam*, the will, just as the forms of the five radical colors exist imperceptibly in the peacock's egg.

NOTE.—These elementary letters are here supposed to be real existences, the rudimental forms of thought, which will be fully developed in the next stage, mentioned below. The same philosophy is here involved, as in the case of the five elementary colors, called forms, which are developed by the hatching of a peacock's egg.

The third *Vākku*, *mattimeī*, is developed in the region of the heart, and there establishes systematically all the forms of the fifty-one letters, which are united with *pirāṇan* [the first of the Ten Vital Airs]. It is then, with these forms, born in the back of the neck, as the foundation of sound and sense to the ear, which has been hitherto without its proper functions.

NOTE.—Here we have the foundation of language and the communication of ideas, laid in the structure of the human body.

The fourth *Vākku*, *veikari*, is developed in the forehead, in order that the organs of speech may understand how to speak the proper ideas, when *sūkkumeī*, and the other *Vākku*, which come in connection with *pirāṇan*, joined with the Vital Air *uthānan*, are heard in their communications by the ear.

NOTE.—The meaning of this is, that this *Vākku* gives the power to perceive, and utter intelligibly, the ideas and forms of speech of which the foundations are laid in the preceding *Vākku*, and which are communicated to the ear. Hence, this is the seat, or *avathāram*, of the soul, in all states of perfect consciousness and action.

The Production of the Four Vākku.

Sūkkumeī is produced by the *Tattuvam Sivam*, as the efficient cause, and his *Satti*, as the instrumental cause.

Peisanti is produced by the *Tattuvam Sāthākkiyam* and his *Satti*.

Mattimeī is evolved by the *Tattuvam Īsuran* and his *Satti*.

Veikari is developed by *Sutta-Vittei* [Rudra] and his *Satti*.

NOTE.—Thus, by means of the four *Vakku*, the soul is brought under the influence of its proper organism, and is made ready to be vivified, and to act according to the requirements of its fate, or *kanma-malam*.

What next follows describes the manner in which the soul is fully reinstated in the possession of the powers of life.

II. *Ascending States of the Soul.*

The way in which the imperfectly conscious soul, in these *Vakku*, is brought to a state of consciousness and activity, is as follows.

Sivam develops the *Tattuvam Satti* [or *Vintu*]; *Satti* evolves *kālam*, *niyathi*, and *kalei*. *Kalei*, having removed, by little and little, *ānava-malam*, just as fire removes the particles of wood burnt, the soul, in the form of *kalei*, associates with itself *pirāṇan*, in *turiyam*, and then becomes an inhabitant of *sulutti*.

Then *Gnānā-Satti* (ஞானசத்தி) evolves *Sutta-Vittei*. *Sutta-Vittei* develops, for the soul, *arivu* (அறிவு), understanding. *Ichchā-Satti* (இச்சாசத்தி) brings forth the *Tattuvam Īsuran*. *Īsuran* produces the *Tattuvam rākam*. Then *rākam* develops, for the soul, *ichchei*, desire [or the passions].

NOTE.—*Gnānā-Satti*, the goddess of wisdom, is the ultimate source of understanding or wisdom to the soul. *Ichchā-Satti*, the goddess of desire, is the ultimate source of desire or passion. *Kiriyā-Satti*, mentioned below, is the ultimate source of action to souls.

The soul is thus invested with the proper forms of desire, understanding, and action, which constitute the *avathāram* that exists in the heart [or the middle region]. In this state, the soul is denominated *purusha-tattuvam* (புருஷதத்துவம்), and also *panchakanchukan* (பஞ்சகஞ்சகன்), the lord [or possessor] of the first five [of the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam*].

In the same way, *Kiriyā-Satti* (கிரியாசத்தி) evolves, in the *avathāram* of *purusha-tattuvam*, *Sāthākkiyam*. *Sāthākkiyam* develops *pirakiruthi* [= *ullam*, a form of *pirakiruthi*]. This *pirakiruthi* connects with the soul as *kuṇam*. Then the soul, in the form of the Great *Kuṇam*, stands in union with the *Tattuvam*, as a preparation for the experience of good and evil.

Conscious State of the Soul in Soppanam.

The instrumentality by which the soul becomes intelligent in the *avathâram* of *soppanam*, consists of the following five Tattuvam, viz: *manam*, *putti*, *akangkâram*, *sittam*, and *ullam*. These respectively evolve the symbols *a*, *u*, *m*, *Vintu*, *Nâtham*. These symbols develop the five mundane gods, viz: Brahmâ, Vishnu, *Ruttiran*, *Mayêsuran*, *Sathâsivan*. The soul, possessing these Tattuvam, becomes *sukkuma-teki* (சுக்குமதேகி), an intelligent and active individual, in *soppanam*, in the same way as it experiences good and evil in *sâkkiram*. With these qualifications, it becomes an inhabitant of *sâkkiram*.

NOTE.—The symbols *a*, *u*, etc. constitute the *panchâkkaram* (பஞ்சாக்கரம்), the five lettered *mantiram*, in its second stage of development. A full explanation of this important formula may be found in this Journal, Vol. II. pp. 152–54.

Intelligent and Active State of the Soul in Sâkkiram.

The method is as follows. When the soul, standing in the place of *âkâsam*, ether, and possessing *sôttiram*, the organ of hearing, apprehends *sattam*, sound, *vâkku*, mouth, will give utterance to the same.

When the soul, standing in the Element *vâyû*, air, and being in possession of *tokku*, the organ of feeling, distinguishes *parisam*, touch, the feet will move.

When the soul, in the Element *tēyu*, fire, and in possession of *sadchu*, the organ of sight, discriminates *rûpam*, form, the hands will perform their functions of giving and receiving.

When the soul, in the Element *appu*, water, and in the possession of *singnguvei*, the organ of taste, perceives *rasam*, taste, *pâyuru* will perform their office of separating and voiding the excrements.

When in *piruthuvi*, earth, and in the possession of *âkki-rânam*, the organ of smell, the soul perceives *kantam*, smell, *upattam* will yield delight.

In the *avathâram* in which these operations are carried on, *Anna-Satti* (அன்னசத்தி), the abstract *Satti*, brings forth the Tattuvam called *Sivam*. This *Sivam* evolves *mâyêi* [the last of the *Vittiyâ-Tattuvam*]. This *mâyêi*, standing in the form of *kuṇam*, and by means of the nine *kuṇam*, magnifies things

[or causes the soul unduly to magnify the things of sense], and to call a lie the truth. By this means, the soul becomes subject to births and deaths.

Thus far [*Mēlāl-Avattei*, also denominated] *Sakala-Avattei* (சகல அவத்தை).

III. *Pure States of the Soul.*

NOTE.—The successive states, or stages of progress, of the soul towards its ultimate deliverance from its entanglements in the body, are called *ninmala-avattei* (நின்மல அவத்தை), the *Avattei* in which *malam* is destroyed. The course of the soul, here, is through the Ascending States.

The elucidation of the *ninmala-avattei* in the *Sutta-Avattei*, is as follows.

When one's *kanmam* has met its award, and *āṇava-malam* is satisfied; when one has received the lamp of wisdom from his Guru; and when he has come to distinguish and understand Sivan, the soul, and *pāsam*, then his *avathāram*, organism, in which he will receive grace, is as follows.

1. When the soul comes to a full vision of the Elements, his *stūla-sarīram* (ஸ்தூலசரீரம்), gross body, will cease to exist [or will cease to control or influence him]. This state is called *ninmala-sākkiram* (நின்மலசாக்கிரம்).

2. When one gets a vision of the *Intiriyam*, five Perceptive Organs, and five Organs of Action, the Elements will withdraw [or cease to affect the soul]. This is *ninmala-soppanam* (நின்மலசொப்பனம்).

3. When one comes to understand the *Antakaranam*, Intellectual Organic Faculties, the *Intiriyam* will cease to exert their influence. This state is called *ninmala-sulutti* (நின்மலசுழுத்தி).

4. When the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam* are revealed to the soul, then the *Antakaranam* will withdraw their influence. This state is denominated *ninmala-turiyam* (நின்மலதூரியம்).

5. When the *Sutta-Tattuvam* are clearly understood, then the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam* will cease to operate on the soul. This state is called *ninmala-turiyāthūtham* (நின்மலதூரியாதீதம்).

Further View of the Soul in these Ninmala-Avattei.

Ninmala-sākkiram is the state in which one's *Antakaranam*, which had let out the soul through the senses, become *Siva-*

karaṇam [or divinely illuminated], so that, from having seen the world as eternal, he now humbly approaches and obtains grace [help] of his Guru.

NOTE.—This is the transcendental development of his mind, by which he grasps at once, or intuitively understands, all things and circumstances as they are.

Ninmala-soppanam is the state in which the soul, by hearing and understanding his Guru, comes to see Sivan. He then becomes exalted, draws near, and is made a possessor of Sivan's enjoyment. In this, it is neither too much elated, nor zealous, nor overwhelmed.

NOTE.—This is a stage in sanctification, when one's spiritual, or illuminated vision begins to govern and regulate his affections.

Ninmala-sulṭti is an advanced stage in self-government, in which the devotee is enabled to receive honor, or a distinguished name, without the propensity to say: "I have made this acquisition," etc.

NOTE.—Such an one is supposed to have got the victory over his natural pride and vanity, so completely do his spiritual visions engross him.

Ninmala-turiyam is the state in which the soul reaches the *sampūraṇa-tisei* (சம்பூரணதிசை), region of plenty, whence happiness flows in upon it.

Ninmala-turiyāthūtham is the state in which the soul transcends even the four above-named attainments, and leaves them.

NOTE.—The soul is now in *Siva-Rūpam*, and is a *sivam*, a god, rather than a mere soul, and is in full participation of the joys of Sivan.

All that can be said of the soul in this state of *sampūraṇa-tisei*, is that Sivan will appear to it, and shine as the sun, with unspeakable and overwhelming splendor.

Thus, one who has obtained the vision of *ninmala-sākṣi-ram*, will have his natural propensities and powers of talking, etc., stupified, and checked, like one bathing under water, and like one who has eaten to repletion.

Thus far the *Kāraṇa-Avattei* [*Kāraṇa*, radical, in reference to the *ninmala-avattei*], which are also called *Suttam* [= *Sutta-Avattei*].

Here ends the view of the *Avattei*.

SECTION VI.

TESA-KÂRIYAM (தெசகாரியம்).

NOTE.—The phrase *tesa-kâriyam* means, literally, *the ten things*. Here, it refers to the ten principal states or positions of the soul in its organism, the human microcosm. These states involve all the relations of the soul to the Tattuvam here brought to view, so far as they bear on its moral and religious character, and on its present condition and prospects. These are topics which belong exclusively to the initiated, or such as have taken a regular course in Hindû theology, and who have advanced to the last stage of religious life, called *gnâna-pâtham*, the way of wisdom.

The *Tesa-Kâriyam* are as follows, viz: *Tattuva-Rûpam* (தத்துவரூபம்), the Form [or Body] of the Tattuvam; *Tattuva-Terisanam* (தத்துவதெரிசனம்), the Vision of the Tattuvam; *Tattuva-Sutti* (தத்துவசுத்தி), the Purity [or Cleansing] of the Tattuvam; *Âttuva-Rûpam* (ஆத்துமரூபம்), the Soul's Proper Form; *Âttuva-Terisanam* (ஆத்துமதெரிசனம்), the Vision of the Soul; *Âttuva-Sutti* (ஆத்துமசுத்தி), the Purity of the Soul; *Siva-Rûpam* (சிவரூபம்), Sivan's Proper Form [or Sivan, as incarnate Deity]; *Siva-Terisanam* (சிவதெரிசனம்), the Vision of Sivan; *Siva-Yokam* (சிவயோகம்), the Union with Sivan; *Siva-Pokam* (சிவபோகம்), the Enjoyment of Sivan.

NOTE.—These states are first very briefly defined; and then, with the exception of the first three, are repeated, and more fully explained.

I. *Tattuva-Rûpam* is the visible form in which the soul perceives the *Mukkuṇam* [or is brought fully under their influence], and made to understand their existence.

NOTE.—This is the condition of the embodied soul in its first stage of spiritual enlightenment. The Three *Kuṇam* are the ultimate source of all quality or character in man, and may be indefinitely developed and expanded. But the more generic and prominent development is three-fold, making nine *kuṇam*. According to another author, the three are as follows. *Sâttvika-kuṇam*, goodness, produces illumination, and mildness in thought, word and deed. Operating in these directions, it becomes an “unfailing and perfect light to the soul, arousing it, and making it ready to eat the fruit of its own doings.” *Râsatha-kuṇam*, passion, produces for the soul the propensity to excessive occupation in thought, word and deed, and asperity in the same.

By these means it prepares the soul to receive pleasure and pain, according to its *kanmam*, or the law of its fate. *Tāmātha-kunam* brings forth arrogance, that egotistic *kunam* which says: "There is none like me," etc., and willfulness, or depraved will. By these means, it welcomes all sensual objects, and brings them to the soul.

The first stage in the soul's spiritual progress, is a degree of self-knowledge, by which it has a view of these *kunam*, and its relations to them.

II. *Tattuva-Terisanam* is the state in which the soul discovers the nature of its existence with the Tattuvam, and the method in which they operate [or how it lives in them].

III. *Tattuva-Sutti* is the state in which the soul comes to understand that the Tattuvam are distinct from itself, and in which they withdraw their influence [or cease to influence the soul].

IV. *Ātuma-Rūpam* is the state in which the soul comes to understand that the form called *gnānum* is a real form [or a firm reality].

NOTE.—The soul has been already illuminated by *Siva-gnānam*, the light, or wisdom, of Sivan, though it knew it not. It now discovers that there is a real existence in which "it lives, and moves, and has its being," and through the agency of which it has made all its previous discoveries and advances, though it does not yet understand its true relation to this *gnānam*.

V. *Ātuma-Terisanam* is the state in which the soul comes fully to understand *Tattuva-Terisanam*, and when it rises superior to the influence of the Tattuvam; but it now considers, that it is by its own understanding that it has thus advanced.

VI. *Ātuma-Sutti* is the state in which the soul understands its own proper powers of mind, and is prepared to say that it is Sivan that bestows favors in both *pentam* (பெந்தம்), its organic entanglements, and *mutti* (முத்தி), its liberated state.

NOTE.—The doctrine here taught is, that the soul, in this stage, has learned that whatever it may have ascribed to itself, or to its own understanding and powers, at any time, should be accredited to Sivan, as the result of his direct agency; and that this agency is in strict accordance with the laws of *kanmam*, fate.

VII. *Siva-Rūpam* is the state in which the soul comes to know that Sivan exists in the form of *gnānam*, which is

beyond the reach of the thirty-six Tattuvam, and the mode of existence and operation of which is incomprehensible and ineffable.

NOTE.—This divine form, *Siva-Rūpam*, is what the soul should aspire to attain. It is a state of bliss which the human intellect can neither apprehend nor describe. The discovery now made is, that such is Sivan's proper form, and that such may be the form, or embodiment, of the soul.

VIII. *Siva-Teṛisanam* is the state in which the soul learns that it is this *gnānam* which makes the thirty-six Tattuvam known to the soul, explains them, and releases the soul from their control; and, also, that it gives the soul a view of itself.

IX. *Siva-Yōkam* is the state in which the soul sinks into *Gñēyam* (கேயம்), the god who is embodied in *gnānam*, and becomes the possessor [or subject] of *gnānam* [or becomes itself a *gnēyam* or *sivam*].

NOTE.—The soul here becomes clothed in divine habiliments. Dressed in *gnānam*, it is prepared to be associated with God, to be forever in so close a union with Him, as to form a unity in duality, an *attuvitham* (அத்துவிதம்), like that of soul and body.

X. *Siva-Pōkam* is the state in which the soul understands that this *gnānam* will never leave it, and in which it exists as *gnānam*, or in the form of *Siva-gnānam*.

Subdivisions and Further Explanations of the last seven of the Tesa-Kūṛiyam.

I. *Subdivisions of Âttuma-Rūpam.*

In this state, the soul exists as the possessor of the forms of *ichchei*, desire; *gnānam*, wisdom; and *kirikei*, action.

1. As the subject of *ichchei*, the soul desires and pursues the necessities and comforts of life.

2. As the subject of *gnānam*, it takes a discriminating view of things.

3. As the subject of *kirikei*, the soul labors [or acts], and pursues and holds all things as its own property.

II. *Subdivisions of Âttuma-Teṛisanam.*

In this state, the soul gets a view of itself in *ichchei*, in *kirikei*, and in *gnānam*.

1. When the soul has arrived at this stage, *ichchei*, passion, will live and operate through the *Antakarāṇam*.

2. When its *kirikei* is active, the soul being in this stage, it will operate through the *Kanmēntiriyam*, Organs of Action.

3. Now the soul renounces these sensible objects, as not belonging to a spiritual being [a Wise Man], and recovers itself, and stands according to truth [or forsakes the vanities of sense, and cleaves to realities].

III. *Explanation of Āttuma-Sutti.*

Āttuma-Sutti is the state in which, when the soul has seen itself, it discovers both the method in which it knows all things by the aid of Sivan, and, also, the way in which Sivan is manifest to the soul; and when it stands in Sivan's *Gnāna-Satti* as its own *gnāna-satti*, being dissociated from both *malam* and Sivan.

IV. *Subdivisions of Śiva-Rūpam.*

Sivan [as well as the soul, in the human microcosm] has the three-fold form of *ichchei*, passion; *gnānam*, wisdom; and *kirikei*, action.

1. *Ichchei* is the form in which he desires to set souls free in *mutti*.

2. *Gnānam* is the form in which he apprehends, in one connected view, the *kanmam* of souls [or all their transactions from eternity].

3. *Kirikei* is the form in which, in order that there may be effected for souls a proper adjustment of their *kanmam*, he knows the whole aggregation of their *kanmam* from eternity, both such as are ready to be cancelled, and such as are not; brings them together, and causes the soul to eat [experience] what remains, and thus brings them to an end.

All this is included in *Śiva-Rūpam*.

V. *Explanation of Śiva-TERISANAM.*

In order to reveal himself to souls, Sivan causes the *kanmam* to depart from them. For this purpose he stands in three forms, and bestows his favor [or illuminating grace]. These three instrumental forms through which he shines on the soul, are [the three *lingam*, which are designated by] the terms *he*, *she*, *it*.

VI. *Explanation of Siva-Yōkam.*

When the soul is thus favored by Sivan, he conceals the three forms in which he stands, and in which he develops all things; and, when he produces the Tattuvam and the soul, and causes the soul's *kanmam* to live and operate, he hides himself, from the view of the soul, within his own proper form. Into this most perfect Sivan it [the beatified soul] sinks; and losing all distinction of the internal and the external, it sees Sivan as he is, and comes into such a union with him, that they cease to be two [or such as to form with God a unity in duality].

NOTE.—The native commentators represent this union of the soul with God, as being effected by *Siva-gnānam*, which is in this case *Siva-Satti*, or *Arul-Satti* (அருள்சத்தி). She envelops the soul as with a beam of sacred light, the effulgence of Sivan; so that the soul becomes, as it were, identified with her, and a sharer in all her joys. And she being an essential part of Deity, the soul is, by this means, brought into this most perfect union with God. The soul's proper form is now *Siva-gnānam*, and hence the soul is a *sivam*.

VII. *Explanation of Siva-Pōkam.*

The soul standing in the form of *Parā-Satti*, and being a sharer in her joys, and Sivan, who is the fountain of delight, and the soul, having thus ceased to be two, *Siva-anupōkam* (சிவஅனுபோகம்), the divine delectation, springs up in the soul. Thus, this enjoyment of the soul with Sivan arises from Sivan, just as heat from fire, and coolness from water.

Tattuva-Kattalei is ended.

ARTICLE II.

சிவஞானபோதம்.

SIVA-GNÂNA-PŌTHAM,

INSTRUCTION IN THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

A

METAPHYSICAL AND THEOLOGICAL TREATISE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

MOST of the leading works, in Tamil, on the esoteric doctrines of Hindûism, are prefaced by some logical treatise, or, rather, by a statement of the method of reasoning which the author intends to pursue. These treatises are usually brief, and generally less comprehensive than those distinct works which profess to teach the whole system of *Alavei* (அளவை), or Hindû dialectics. All these works are, however, formed on the same general plan, and go over, more or less completely, the same ground. They embrace the principles of logical and metaphysical reasoning, weaving in many assumed theological and scientific dogmas, yet evincing that the Hindûs have some correct apprehension of the true sources of ideas, and of the way in which the human mind usually reasons, when enlightened.

The ostensible object of *Alavei* is, generally, to teach the methods of ascertaining truth; yet these works are chiefly devoted, as a matter of fact, to the explanation of the terms employed and the methods pursued, by Hindû writers, in establishing and inculcating their peculiar religious doctrines.

A brief analysis of one of these introductory treatises will give, perhaps, a better view of the whole subject than any general description could. I shall, therefore, give in this paper the substance of the *Alavei* which is prefixed to the *Sîva-Gnâna-Pôtham*. The author is regarded, by the Sâivas of Southern India at least, as the highest authority in this department of sacred learning. The productions of this author must have been extant when the older of the mythological works were written, as is manifest from the manner in which the topics of which they treat, are brought in, or are alluded to, in those works. Hence they seem the more worthy of notice, and of preservation, spanning, as they do, the vast periods of Hindû literature, and still remaining the authoritative text-books in the whole Sâiva School, and especially among the philosophers of the South.

The author commences this *Alavei* with the following remark. "In order to understand the three eternal entities, Deity, Soul, Matter, there is required, in addition to Revelation and Tradition, a knowledge of the principles of *Alavei*." *Alavei* is a pure Tamil term, meaning *measure*. It is here used to signify the measure, or rule, of judgment, and is a very appropriate term to express what is included under it.

The author states that some writers hold to six distinct logical principles; others, to ten; and some, that there are even more than ten; but that, in his view, all may be included in three. He then briefly presents the ten principles, as follows.

1. *Kāḍchi* (காட்சி), or *Kāṇḍal* (காண்டல்), Perception, in a large sense.

2. *Anumānam* (அனுமானம்), or *Karuthal* (கருதல்), Inference.

3. *Urei* (உரை), or *Ākamam* (ஆகமம்), Revelation, including different classes of professedly divine books.

4. *Apāvam* (அபாவம்), Negation, the denial of a thing, based on the known absence of some quality, or on the non-existence of some other thing; e. g. "when it is asserted, that *asittu* (அசித்து), matter, cannot proceed from *sittu* (சித்து), spirit, it is at once admitted."

5. *Porul* (பொருள்), Implication; e. g. "when it is said, that there is a village of cow-herds on the Ganges, it is readily understood, that the village is on the bank of the Ganges; again, when the body is spoken of as feeling or perceiving, as the body is mere matter, it is understood, that it is the soul, in the body, which feels and perceives."

6. *Oppu* (ஒப்பு), Similitude; e. g. "when one, who has been told that the wild cow [*bos gavaeus*] resembles the domestic cow, sees a wild cow in the jungle, he at once recognizes it from its resemblance to the domestic cow. Again, the same principle appears in simple comparison; thus, *Māyei* [original Elemental Matter] is to the five gross Elements, what clay is to the potter's vessel; *malam* [the obscuring principle which eternally adheres to the soul's material envelope] is to the soul, as the oxidated surface of a mass of copper is to the pure copper within; and the operations of God are to the developed world, as the sun's influences are to plants."

7. *Olivei* (ஒழிவு), Exception; e. g. "in case of a theft committed where there were but three persons present, if two of them prove that they were not guilty, then, by the rule of Exception, it is proved that the other person is the thief."

8. *Unmei* (உண்மை), Truth, or Essential Property; e. g. "when it is stated, that a certain stone attracts iron, it is at once known to be a magnet; when it is asserted, that the world was produced, is preserved, and will be destroyed, by some being, it is readily understood that that being is God."

9. *Eithikam* (ஐதீகம்), Tradition; e. g. "when one hears it generally asserted, as what has been handed down from ancient times, that a devil resides in a certain tree, he admits it."

10. *Iyalpu* (இயல்பு), Naturalness; e. g. "when a word has several meanings, the one is to be taken which most naturally agrees with the subject; thus, if a man on an elephant asks for a *totti* (தொட்டி) [which means *elephant-hook, door, town, sea-shore*, etc.], you should of course give him the hook."

Our author, having thus stated these ten principles, which he considers as embracing all that are more commonly held, proceeds immediately to present his own views of the subject. He does not stop to tell us how he supposes that these ten are all included in the first three; but he simply declares this as his opinion, and proceeds at once to the elucidation of the three. He makes many subdivisions, and presents the whole much in accordance with the custom of Hindû writers, in a very disjointed order. I shall bring the related parts together, and endeavor to give, in all other respects, a truthful presentation of the subject.

I. *Kâdchi*, Perception. This is four-fold: *intiriya-kâdchi* (இந்திரியக்காட்சி), perception by the organs of sense, that is, sensation; *mânutha-kâdchi* (மானதக்காட்சி), perception by the mind, or simple perception; *vêthanei-kâdchi* (வேதனைக்காட்சி), experimental perception, what one learns from experience; *yôka-kâdchi* (யோகக்காட்சி), transcendental perception, or vision had by religious meditation.

1. *Sensation*. This is explained to be a bare impression made upon the soul by some external object, through the medium of one of the five Elements, and by the agency of one of the five Perceptive Organs, or senses, and of *pirâṇa-vāyu*, one of the Ten Vital Airs.

The elementary medium employed in hearing, is ether; that of touch, is air; that of sight, fire, which always includes light; that of taste, water; and that of smell, earth.

For a full explanation of these organs of the human system, and of others referred to in this paper, see the preceding article in this Journal.

2. *Simple Perception*. This is a clear apprehension of an object of sense which is presented in a sensation. For this the agency of the Intellectual Organic Faculties, as *manam*, etc. is necessary.

There are three kinds of simple perception specified, viz:

(1.) *Nīya-kāḍchi* (நியக்காட்சி), doubtful perception; e. g. "when one sees a thing, but cannot tell whether it be a stump, a man, a cow, or an elk, this is a case of *nīya-kāḍchi*."

(2.) *Tirivu-kāḍchi* (திரிவுக்காட்சி), mistaken perception; e. g. "to mistake a rope for a snake, or the mother-of-pearl for silver, would be an example of *tirivu-kāḍchi*."

(3.) *Saruvikatpa-kāḍchi* (சரூவிகத்பக்காட்சி), analytical perception. This consists of such an apprehension of an object as embraces its name, class, qualities, action or functions, and substance. These are the five categories of the Southern Hindû philosophers. Every thing is supposed to be generically embraced in these five.

The *Niyāya-Nāstiri*, or doctors of the *Niyāya* School of philosophy, hold to seven categories, viz: substance; quality; action or functions; community of properties, or that which is common; difference or distinction; relation; and non-existence. Others, again, have adopted still different categories. The class of five seems as philosophical, and comprehensive, as any other. Substance, the last of the five, is considered as common to the other four.

3. *Experimental Perception*. Respecting this our author remarks: "*Rākam* and the other *Vītiyā-Tattuvam* secure to the soul whatever pleasure or pain is experienced from objects presented to the soul by means of the Perceptive Organs and the Intellectual Organic Faculties. This perception, by experience, of the qualities of pleasure and pain, is also called *suvēthanā-pirattiyadcham* (சுவேதனாபிரத்தியட்சம்).

It is manifest, that this is considered as something in advance of simple perception. It is had by means of a different and higher class of organic agents. This is laid down

as a logical principle, for the purpose of facilitating the discussion and establishment of the mystic doctrines of the Hindûs respecting the soul's entanglement in its organism, and the mode of its deliverance. This, as well as the next particular mentioned, seems to indicate the real object of these logical treatises, which is to help to establish the previously assumed dogmas of Hindû religious philosophy.

4. *Transcendental Perception*. This is described by our author as "that clear and distinct understanding which is free from doubt and mistake, and which does not depend upon [or has no regard to] the five categories. . . . This perfect apprehension of an object at once, without distinguishing any of its properties, is obtained by divine illumination." . . . He who possesses this high power of perception "has subdued the influence of his senses [so that they can no longer affect his mind] by means of the eight *sitti** (சித்தி), ascetic observances, and has learned the proper form [or nature] of the Male and Female Energies of the Deity." Such an one understands "intuitively and simultaneously all the circumstances of the time and place in which he lives, and all the things of this wide world." It is the indwelling God, in intimate union with the soul, who effects this perception—a power which entirely transcends the human understanding. Yet this is a power which every

* These eight *sitti*, or miraculous gifts, which are obtained by several ascetic observances, are as follows.

1. *Aṇimā* (அணிமா), the power of reducing one's bulk to the size of an atom.

2. *Makimā* (மகிமா), the power to increase one's bulk illimitably.

3. *Lakṣmā* (இலகுமா), the power to make oneself so light as not to feel the influence of gravity.

4. *Karimā* (கரிமா), the power to make oneself so heavy as not to be affected by any attracting force.

5. *Pirātti* (பிராத்தி), the power to obtain whatever one desires.

6. *Pirākāmiyam* (பிராகாமியம்), the power of penetrating everywhere, without regard to natural obstacles.

7. *Isattvam* (ஈசத்துவம்), the power to act as God, or to constrain every thing in obedience to one's will.

8. *Vasittvam* (வசித்துவம்), the power to assume any form, and the proper functions of that form.

Such are the fancied powers of the mature *Yōgi*. They result from a union of soul with God, such a union that they cease to be two, while yet the individuality of the soul is not destroyed.

human soul will ultimately attain, and which it will ever afterwards possess.

II. *Anumānam*, Inference. This is the principle or rule "by which some truth or fact is inferred from a given premise, or from some manifest or admitted reason which has an inseparable connection with it."

Our author, at the outset, makes a two-fold distinction of Inference: 1. *tan-porutt'-anumānam* (தன்பொருட்டனுமானம்), inference for one's self, or inductive inference; 2. *pirar-porutt'-anumānam* (பிரர்பொருட்டனுமானம்), inference for the sake of others, or declarative inference.

1. The first process consists in determining something from given premises. In these premises are contained six particulars, which must here be explained. They are three varieties of *paksham* (பக்சம்), and three varieties of *ēthu* (ஏது).

The *paksham* are these:

(1.) *Paksham*, defined as the simple statement of a fact or truth. It is a proposition, more or less complex; e. g. "there is fire on the mountain, because smoke is seen there." The term is sometimes used for a simple proposition; thus, "there is fire on the mountain; the world is a lie [i. e. delusive, transitory]." In this case, a *paksham* is equivalent to the conclusion in a syllogism. The same term is also used to signify the place of the fact in question; as, in the example, "the mountain" would be the *paksham*.

(2.) *Sa-paksham* (சபக்சம்). This is a specific statement of a known fact or truth—an illustrative example, which involves the reason, or principle, on which the simple *paksham* is based; e. g. "there is always fire in the kitchen, when there is smoke; again, whatever is made is false, or transitory [and hence, the world is called a lie], like an earthen vessel made by the potter." It is, essentially, one of the premises in a syllogism. The place of the fact given as an example is also called *sa-paksham*. Hence, in this example, "the kitchen" is the *sa-paksham*.

(3.) *Vi-paksham* (விபக்சம்). This is a negative proposition, the reverse of *sa-paksham*; e. g. "that which is not made is truth [i. e. permanent, eternal], as, the three eternal entities, Deity, Soul, Matter; again, where there is no water there can be no lotus-flower." Here, also, the term *vi-paksham* is limited to the locality: "where there is no water."

The three *ēthu*, or reasons, are these :

(1.) *Iyalp'-ēthu* (இயல்பேது), a natural reason. Here the nature of the case is considered as the determinative reason; e. g. "in the term *mā*, mango, are involved both the existence and the specification of a particular tree; so, also, the terms *Pathi*, *Pasu*, *Pāsam*, Deity, Soul, Matter, at once show the reality of such existences."

A different author states the former example thus: "when we say *mā* [which means *mango-tree*, *horse*, *beetle*, etc.], it is naturally understood, from the connection in which the word is used, that it means *mango-tree*, and not *horse*, etc."

(2.) *Kāriya-ēthu* (காரியேது), an effect showing a cause; e. g. "smoke shows the presence of fire; again, since there can be no effect without a cause, the existence of the world proves the existence of a cause [God]."

(3.) *Anupalatti-ēthu* (அநுபலத்திேது), arguing from the want of any cause, to the non-existence of any effect; e. g. "the absence of cold proves that there will be no dew."

Our author remarks that "this principle is based on the fact that there can be no effect where there is no cause. Hence it follows, that, were there no God, there could be no world; if there were no soul, there could be no body; if there were no *māyeri*, there could be no material visible existences; if there were no clay, there could be no earthen vessel."

2. The second kind of Inference, *pirar-porutt'-anumānam*, which I have denominated declarative inference, is for the instruction of others; or, in the language of the author, "it presents the subject, by means of *paksham* and *ēthu*, so that others may understand it."

Here we have a further two-fold distinction of declarative inference:

(1.) *Annuvayam* (அன்னுவயம்), a direct, or positive statement of the argument, with the conclusion. This is exemplified thus: "there is fire on the mountain, because there is smoke there; for we always find fire in the kitchen when there is smoke."

This statement is considered, by some authors, as embracing the following five particulars.

a. "*Paksham*, the simple proposition: there is fire on the mountain.

b. "*Ēthu*, the reason, presenting the natural connection of things on which the *paksham* is based; e. g. when it is

asked: how is it known, that there is fire on the mountain, it not having been seen? the answer is: smoke is seen there, the natural effect of fire. This is *kāriya-ēthu*.

c. "*Tittāntam* (திட்டாந்தம்), proof by example [the same as *sa-paksham* mentioned above]; e. g. where there is smoke there is fire, as is always the case in the kitchen.

d. "*Upanayam* (உபநயம்), application of the *ēthu*, reason, to the simple proposition; e. g. there is smoke seen on the mountain.

e. "*Nikamanam* (நிகமனம்), the conclusion [or proposition proved]; e. g. there is fire on the mountain, because there is smoke there.

(2.) The second division of declarative inference, is called *vethirēkam* (வெதிரேகம்), an indirect, or negative statement of the argument, the reverse of *annuvayam*; e. g. "there is no smoke where there is no fire; there can be no blown or unblown lotus-flower where there is no water."

The author next proceeds to state another, a four-fold, division of Inference, as follows.

(1.) *Ēthu-anumānam* (ஏது அனுமானம்), reasoning from a natural cause. "This," he says, "is the inferring of a truth from some reason [or cause, *ēthu*], which is naturally connected with it; e. g. from smoke seen, the existence of fire is inferred."

(2.) *Pothu-anumānam* (பொது அனுமானம்), reasoning from a common or customary connection of things; e. g. "when one hears the sound of a horn, he may conclude that an elephant is approaching; because it is customary for a man on an elephant to blow a horn as he approaches a town."

The sound of the horn is called *sāthanam* (சாதனம்), logical premise; and the approach of the elephant is the *sāttiyam* (சாத்தியம்), logical conclusion. We have here a recognition of the essential parts of a syllogism.

With regard to the term *pothu*, common, as used in this connection, the author remarks: "It is the same as *sāmānyam* (சாமானியம்), that which is common to several classes, or to all the individuals in one class. Thus, a horn may be blown for other reasons than the approach of an elephant; and hence, the inference may not in all cases be correct."

(3.) *Echcha-anumānam* (ஏச்ச அனுமானம்), reasoning from any phenomenon to its natural antecedent, or cause; e. g.

“from a flood in the river, it may be inferred that there has been rain in the mountains.”

Respecting *echcha*, the adjective form of *echcham* (எச்சம்), lit. defect, remainder, the author says: “It is the same as *kāriyam* (காரியம்), the common logical term for effect [or result]. The flood in the river may have been the result of the breaking away of a dam, or of the embankment of a tank. Hence, the inference may not always be correct.”

(4.) *Muthal-anumānam* (முதல் அனுமானம்), reasoning from a cause to its common effect, or from an antecedent to its usual consequent; e. g. “on seeing the pregnant cloud, it may be inferred that it will rain.”

“But,” says the author, “*muthal* [lit. the first], like *kāraṇam* (காரணம்), cause, denotes a usual cause or antecedent, and not what is universally and absolutely such. Therefore, the cloud may pass away without rain.”

Our author closes the section on Inference, by presenting the three following varieties.

1. *Pūrva-kāḍchi-anumānam* (பூர்வகாட்சி அனுமானம்), inference from some previous sensation or perception; e. g. “one may, without seeing the flower, determine what it is by its smell.” This involves previous knowledge obtained by perception, and, also, a present perception by the sense of smell. The inference is based on both, according to the view of the author.

2. *Karuthal-anumānam* (கருதல் அனுமானம்), inference involving reflection; e. g. “one may form an opinion of what a man knows, from the words he uses.”

In Hindû learning, much depends on a proper understanding of technical terms; which terms cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of the system to which they apply. Hence, when a man uses certain terms freely, the Hindû infers that he must understand something of his mystic system.

3. *Ureiyāl- or Ākama-anumānam* (உரையால், or ஆகம அனுமானம்), inference from revealed doctrines; e. g. “the *Sāstiram* (சாஸ்திரம்) teach us what are the just results of *kanmam* in this world. Hence, from one’s experience, and from these teachings of Revelation, he may infer what his previous *kanmam* was [or what was his merit or demerit in a former birth]. And so, also, from his present conscious-

ness of his merit and demerit, or his now accumulating *kanmam*, he may infer what he is to expect in a future birth."

III. *Ākama-piramānam* (ஆகம்பிரமாணம்), Revelation, a source of knowledge, considered as a logical principle. "This," says our author, "applies to all subjects which lie beyond the reach of Perception and Inference; e. g. the existence of heaven and hell is proved by Revelation, because it cannot be proved by Inference."

The author makes a three-fold division of *Ākama-piramānam*, having reference to three classes of sacred books, or *Sāstiram*, and to the prescribed courses of instruction in the same by a regular Guru. This would be a correct principle of reasoning, or a true source of knowledge, provided the divine authority of these books were first established. But this is never done, nor attempted. I have never met with an argument, in any Hindū writings, to prove the authenticity, or divine authority, of any book. There is an abundance of polemical works, in which different Schools contend earnestly for their respective dogmas. In most cases, however, they all refer to the same ancient works, assuming their divine authority.

The three divisions of Revelation are as follows.

1. *Tantira-kalei* (தந்திரகலை). "This," says our author, "is the course of instruction embraced in the *Tantiram* (தந்திரம்), which is to be pursued with desire. By it, one is enabled to reconcile one part with another, and each with the whole, of a *Sāstiram*, and all the various *Sāstiram* together, which the pure and omniscient God has graciously given."

The *Tantiram* are a portion of the *Ākamam*. They treat of the mystic philosophy of the divine operations, especially as conducted, as they always are, through the agency of *Satti*, the Female Energy of Deity. The *Tantiram* are the appropriate books of the first two of the four stages of religious life, called *sarithei*, history; and *kirikei*, work, operation.

2. *Mantira-kalei* (மந்திரகலை). "This," says the author, "is a source of knowledge obtained by means of *Mantira-sāstiram*, works on the *mantiram*, mystic formulas. By the proper utterance of the *mantiram*, *manam* and the rest of the Intellectual Organic Faculties are subdued [or cease to affect the understanding of the soul], even while one continues the worship of the common god [or idol] which he has been accustomed to worship."

The *mantiram* are a sort of organized divinities, or divine emanations, which are capable of communicating the highest knowledge and power to those who have attained to a correct understanding and proper use of them. Hence, they illuminate the soul—give it a sort of transcendental understanding. They, therefore, become an important means of establishing the assumed doctrines.

Mantira-kalei is confined chiefly to the third stage in the divine life of men, called *yōkam*, meditation.

3. *Upathēsa-kalei* (உபதேசகலை). "This is a course of sacred learning which reveals the true nature of the eternal God."

Upathēsa-kalei, or divine instruction, belongs exclusively to *gnānam*, the last and highest stage in human progress. This course of instruction includes all those works which treat of *gnānam*, or divine wisdom, such as the *Siva-Gnāna-Pōtham*, and others on the *Ākamam*-doctrines. None but the highest Gurus can teach in this department.

Hence, those who have attained to this stage, may be considered as inspired; and, of course, as having reached the highest source of knowledge. This explains the ground on which purely argumentative works, such as the *Siva-Gnāna-Pōtham*, and the *Siva-Pirakāsam*, are claimed to be divine. It is the divine mind, dwelling in man, that has reasoned them out.

In reference to reasoning in general, our author presents three particulars which are involved in every process of thought.

1. *Piramāthā* (பிரமாத்தா), the one who understands or thinks, the agent in reasoning: This is the soul, less or more enlightened, according to its progress in divine knowledge.

2. *Piramāṇam* (பிரமாணம்), lit. law, rule, the principle, or method, by which the soul reasons.

3. *Piramēyam* (பிரமேயம்), the object sought, or that which is known by a course of reasoning, that which is contained in any logical conclusion.

Two varieties of *piramēyam* are named, and illustrated.

(1.) *Tan-iyalpu-piramēyam* (தனியல்புபிரமேயம்). "This," says the author, "is the distinguishing of the thing contemplated, so as to mark its class, and its individual character

in the class. We have an example of this in the case where God, dwelling in man, is distinguished from the soul, and is represented as not possessing His *gnāna-rūpam*, form of wisdom, and as performing His five divine works by the coöperation of His Satti."

"Again, when the term *puli-mā* (புளிமா), sour mango, is used, the tree is at once distinguished from all other trees, as the olive, the margosa, etc., and, also, from other varieties of the mango, such as the *tē-mā* (தேமா), etc."

"Again, when *śiva-muttan* (சீவமுத்தன்), a soul still in the body, and yet prepared for final emancipation, at death, is attributed to any one, the term at once distinguishes that soul as freed from the influence of *malam*, and as distinct from all other souls."

The term *tan-iyalpu*, lit. its own nature, seems, as used above, to refer to some specific or particular natural distinction.

(2.) *Pothi'-iyalpu-pīram̐yam* (பொதியல்புபிரமேயம்). "This refers," says the author, "to the case where the class [or genus merely] is designated, without any indication as to the particular variety in the class, or as to any specific individual; as, when Sivan is merely distinguished from the soul, without any reference to his *gnāna-rūpam*, or to his modes of operation.

"Another example is furnished by the term *mā*, mango, which marks merely the class.

"Again, when the soul is designated as *śivan* (சீவன்), the living one, it is merely distinguished from its *malam*, material habiliments, by which it is bound, as a living being, a soul, without any reference to other souls."

The author closes his treatise by a bare enumeration of the four general classes of Fallacies, which he designates by the term *Poli* (பொலி), lit. counterfeit, irregularity. He considers them all fallacies in *Anumānam*, or Inference. Hence his general designation is *Anumāna-poli*.

1. *Paksha-poli* (பக்ஷப்பொலி), fallacies arising from the *paksham*. There are four varieties of *paksha-poli*.

2. "*Ēthu-poli* (ஏதுப்பொலி), fallacies arising from the *ēthu*, reason, which supports the *paksham*. Here is a three-fold distinction, including twenty-one varieties.

3. "*Uvamei-poli* (உவமைப்பொலி), fallacies in analogy [or comparison]. This is otherwise denominated *tittānta-poli*, and *sa-paksha-poli*. There are eighteen varieties of this.

4. "*Tōlvittānam* (தோல்வித்தானம்), the same as *vi-paksha-tānam* (விபக்ஷத்தானம்), fallacious *vi-paksham*. There are two sub-divisions, called *vi-paksha-poli*, and *vethirēka-poli*, fallacy in declarative inference, including twenty-two varieties.

"These sixty-five varieties of fallacy may be found in different works, under *Paksham*, *Ēthu*, *Tittāntam*, and *Vethirēkam*."

This is all that is said by the author respecting these fallacies. Such as he considered to be of any practical importance, have been noticed above.

It is manifest, from the method of reasoning here presented, that the Hindûs deny that the soul has the power of originating any ideas independent of its organism. This, so far as I have learned, is true of all their several Schools of philosophy. They make the soul more dependent on its organism than any of our modern philosophers. The soul, according to the assertion of the Hindûs, not only needs the senses to introduce it to the external world, and to other minds, and thus to open the first avenue of thought; but it must have its *Antakaranam*, its intellectual organs, and other *Tattuvam*, to connect it effectually with the senses, and to enable it to appropriate, as its own, what is introduced by the senses. When the soul has been carried forward into its finer organism—its "spiritual body," and has become associated with the indwelling God, it then has, indeed, a power of apprehension far transcending that of the senses. But this attainment is the result of its organic connections; and hence this superior power of apprehension cannot be said to be independent of its organism.

The method of reasoning contemplated by our author, and by the Hindû dialecticians generally, is fully illustrated in the following treatise, and in one still longer, the *Siva-Pirakâsam*, which, it is expected, will appear in this Journal.

In these treatises we have presented to us, by Hindûs, their own application of their principles of reasoning, and, also, their own system of doctrines drawn out in form. Taken in connection, these treatises cover nearly the whole field

of Hindû philosophy. In their polemical bearings, they give the views of the principal Schools which divide the two great classes of Hindûs, the Sâivas and the Vâishnavas. Thus they present to us distinctly the various phases of Hindû speculative doctrine, which are important to be known, but which oriental scholars have not yet been able fully to develop from the more brief, or fragmentary, treatises in the Sanskrit, hitherto brought to light.

SIVA-GNÂNA-PŪTHAM.

Questions supposed to arise in the Mind of the Disciple.

Is the world eternal, or had it a beginning? Is it self-existent, uncreated, or was it produced [or caused]? If caused, was the cause merely such as *kâlam*, or *kanmam*, or was it an intelligent cause? If so, was that intelligent cause *samusiâri* (சமுசீரி), a primogenitor, or was it a being who was liberated from *kanmam*, at the end of the several *kat-pam*? Or was it one who is eternally free from *kanmam*? If so, what is his nature? Are there logical rules to prove the existence of that God? If so, what is the principal rule, Perception, Inference, or Analogy? Or is Revelation the principal rule?

When one has satisfied himself as to the efficient cause of the world [he inquires respecting its material cause]:

Is the world from nothing, or is it a development from *upâthânam* (உபாதானம்), a material cause? If so, was that material cause from nothing, or was it an existence proceeding from primordial atoms? Was *Piramam* (பிரம்மம்) [Brahm] the sole cause? Or was *Mâyei* the only cause? Or was *Mâyei*, acted upon by the divine *Satti*, that material cause?

NOTE.—This last question involves the author's opinion on the subject.

Was the world formed of the materials of a previous world? Was it formed from original materials ["as cloth from yarn"]? Is it a mere illusion ["as a rope mistaken for a snake"]? Is it a form resulting from a combination of causes? Is it a transformation of Deity ["as curd from milk"]? Or is it a simple expansion of Deity ["as the tent of cloth"]?

When God formed the world, was the instrumental cause devoid of desire [or sexual passion], or was it with desire? Did that instrumental cause operate as a body, or as the

Intiriyam, Perceptive Organs, etc.? Or was it as the *Antakaraṇam*, the Intellectual Organic Faculties? Was it by the agency of *Vintu* [the abstract Female Energy of Deity], or was it by that of *Satti* [the organized Energy]? If it was by *Satti*, was she the consort of *Īsuran*, or did she coëxist with him as an attribute [his essential power of production]? Had she a material form, or was she purely spiritual?

Is the *sīvan* (சீவன்), soul [lit. life], which is the subject of attributes different from those of *Īsuran*, an imaginary thing? Is it an embodied being? Is it the combination of the *Intiriyam*? Is it formed of the *Antakaraṇam*? Is it the seat of understanding [or wisdom]? Or is it something different from all these? If it is thus different [which is the author's idea], is it matter, or spirit? Is it Deity, or not Deity? Is it an atom, or is it of medium size? Is it confined to one body, or is it migratory? Is the soul one, or is it manifold? Is the soul of limited knowledge, or is it omniscient? Is the soul's enemy [that which compels it to suffer] merely the evil influence of the five *Avattei* [the organism which is essential to a conscious and intelligent existence]? Is it the want, or ignorance, of *gnānam*, true wisdom, or is it some undefinable ignorance? Is it *ānava-malam*? [This last implied idea is that of the author.] If so, is this *ānava-malam* something different from the soul? Is it common to all souls? Is it [or does it operate] without a *satti*? Or does it possess a beautiful *satti*? Will the soul always be subject to the influence of *malam*, or will it attain to the region of liberation from *malam*?

To the student or disciple who thus inquires, the divine priest or teacher begins to show grace [or gradually to give instruction]; and he here gives the *Siva-Gnāna-Pōtham*, which contains a Tamil translation of the twelve [doctrinal] *sūttiram* (சூத்திரம்) of the *Pāsa-Vimūsanam* (பாசவிமோசனம்), a section of the *Ravurava-Ākamam* (இரவுரவஆகமம்), which is one of the twenty-eight *Ākamam*; accompanying this translation with a commentary, which presents the results of the author's examination of the *Tiripathārttam* (திரிபதார்த்தம்), the three eternal entities [viz: *Pathi*, *Pasu*, *Pāsam* (பதி, பசு, பாசம்), Deity, Soul, Matter; which three constitute the subject of this treatise].

Invocation of Pilliyār.

The good will crown their heads with the two feet of the mischievous *Pilliyār* (பிள்ளையார்), who was graciously produced by Sivan who sits in the shade of the mountain, [*Makâ-Mēru*] and bends the mountain as his bow. Accordingly, I invoke the god who is free from passion and the influence of the *kunam*; who is unchangeable; who, in union with his *Gnāna-Satti*, produces his two offspring, *ichchei*, desire, and *kirikei*, action; and who stands, variously, in the forms of *ichchei*, *gnānam*, and *kirikei*.

NOTE.—*Pilliyār* is otherwise called *Ganēsa*, or *Kaṇēsan* (கணேசன்), and *Ganpati*, or *Kanapathi* (கணபதி). He is the elder son of Sivan, and is distinguished by his elephant-head, which is symbolical of his character and office. The proboscis, coiled at the extremity, combines, like the *lingam*, the two divine Energies. Hence his character as the god of action, and the propriety of invoking his assistance in any undertaking.

Pilliyār is here called mischievous, because, by the power of *Kiriyā-Satti*, he removes the entanglements of *pāsam*, and is thus evil-minded towards *pāsam*.

Sivan's sitting in the shade of the mountain, is interpreted to mean that he is ready to bestow favors on those who worship him.

NOTE.—It was in this position that Sivan blessed, or instructed, the four Rishis: *Sanakar*, *Sanantarar*, *Sanātharar*, and *Sanatku-mārar*, sons of *Brahmā*. He first rehearsed to them the doctrines of *yōkam*; but, as they could not understand his words, he took the form and position of a *Yōki*, and thus taught them by example under a banyan tree, on the sacred mountain.

The bending of the mountain as his bow, means that he will not bless [or rather will punish] those who do not worship him.

Special Preface.

As the glorious sun removes the great darkness from the expanded world, without which the eye could not see, so does the everywhere celebrated God operate. By His aid, the author, having seen God, and been delivered from the darkness of the eye [the soul], and having examined the soul in its cage [the body], sprung from *kanmam*, which subjects the soul to severe sufferings, has produced, without

any defect, this celebrated *Siva-Gnāna-Pōtham*, which *Nanti* (நந்தி) first taught to the company of Rishis. The name of the author is *Suvēthavanān* (சுவேதவனன்), of *Tiruveṇṇai-Nallūr* (திருவெண்ணைநல்லூர்), which is surrounded by the river *Pennei* (பெண்ணை). He, because he has perceived and forsaken impurity, and embraced the truth, is called *Meykanda-dēvan* (மெய்கண்டதேவன்), the Divine Seer of the Truth. He is distinguished for having crowned his head with the feet of those Rishis who have passed the powerful enemy, birth.

This treatise was first taught by Sivan to *Nanti* [his chief attendant]. Then *Nanti* taught it to *Sanatkumāran* (சனந்-குமாரன்) in a company of Rishis.

The expression: the author, having seen God [i. e. having come to understand the nature and ways of God], is interpreted to mean: having come to understand the way in which souls are affected by the five divine operations, which are through the agency of the several *Satti* of the five operative gods.

His being delivered from the darkness of the soul, means his being freed from the influence of his three *malam*, *āṇa-vam*, *māyī* and *kaumam*.

His having examined the soul in its cage, means his understanding the nature and relations of the *Tiripathārttam*.

The expression: without any defect, refers to the three faults to which authors are liable, and which are specified by the authorities, viz: redundancy, deficiency, incongruity.

NOTE.—*Meykanda-dēvan*, or *Meykandān*, the author of this treatise, is represented to have lived in the third generation from *Sanatkumārar*, who was the original author of the *Ākamam* here translated, and the immediate disciple of *Nanti*, or, as he is sometimes styled, *Nantikēsuran* (நந்திகேசுரன்), the god *Nanti*. Who this *Nanti* was, if a real person, and the precise time in which he lived, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. Nor can we determine the exact period between his epoch and that of *Meykandān*. But the *Ākamam* which contains the doctrinal treatise given in this work, may safely be ascribed to what I would term the Philosophical Period of Hindūism, the period between the Vedic and Purānic eras. These doctrines may be traced in the earlier works of the Purānic period, in the *Rāmāyaṇam*, the *Bhāgavad-Gītā*, and the *Mānava-Dharma-Sāstra*. They are so alluded to, and involved, in those works, as to evince that they were already systematized and established.

We have the evidence of some Tamil works, that the *Ākamam*-doctrines were received in the South of India before Brāhmanism, by which I mean mythological Hindūism, obtained any prominent place there. From some statements in the *Rāmāyaṇam*, it would appear that they were adopted in the South before *Rāma's* time. This would fix their date at more than a thousand years before the Christian era, certainly as early as that of the *Rāmāyaṇam*.

The Author's Apology.

They who know themselves, and God whose servants they are, will not despise me, their servant. But those who know not themselves, are ignorant [of this high subject]. And as my reasoning does not accord with their mode of thinking, it is not understood by them. Therefore, I will not hear [regard] their strictures.

To know one's self, is to understand that one is different from, or other than, his body. This is *Āttuma-Terisanam*, the Vision of the Soul. But when one attains to *Āttuma-Terisanam*, he will understand *pāsam*, and be freed from its influence. Therefore, this implies *pāsa-terisanam*, vision of *pāsam*.

To know him [Sivan] who has possession of man as his servant, is *Siva-Terisanam*, the Vision of Sivan. Therefore, the two attainments [*Āttuma-Terisanam* and *Siva-Terisanam*, as predicated of the *Gnāni*] imply that the *Gnāni*, Wise Man, understands *Pathi*, *Pasu* and *Pāsam*.

Since they [the wise] receive me as their servant, they will find no fault with this my work. They who understand the Vedas [or *Vēṭham* (வேதம்)], and the *Ākamam*, will correct the faults, if there be any, and receive the work.

But those who know not themselves, know not how they are entangled in *pāsam*, nor how they are to come to a knowledge of Sivan, in order to their deliverance therefrom.

Because this subject is not understood by those who are conversant only with worldly sciences, it will not accord with their views of things, or with their modes of thought. Therefore, the faults which they may charge upon my work, are no faults. I will not hear their complaints.

NOTE.—We now come to the *Sūttiram*, translated from the *Ra-vurava-Ākamam*, which are explained, in their order, by the author's commentary annexed to the several *Sūttiram*. The author employs

two kinds of poetry. The *Sūttiram* are given in one called *āsi-riya-pā* (அசிரியப்பா), and the commentary, in another called *ven-pā* (வேண்பா). The first kind may have two or more lines in a stanza, and has always four feet in a line. The *ven-pā* has always four lines in the stanza. The first three lines have each four feet, and the fourth has three feet. There are thirty kinds of feet employed in Tamil poetry, arranged in four classes.

I.

FIRST SŪTTIRAM.

On the Existence of Deity.

SŪTTIRAM.—The world, which consists of three classes of beings, designated by *he*, *she*, *it*, and which is subject to the three operations [viz: creation, preservation, destruction], will be dissolved in the same way in which it is developed and preserved, and will be re-developed from *malam*. The wise declare that Deity exists at the end of all things [i. e. is the unchangeable efficient cause of the world].

UREI.*—The *malam* here mentioned is *Māyei*.

The wise are those who understand the *Vētham* and the *Ākamam*.

The world does not come into existence, continue, and end, of itself.

It is here asserted, that Sivan, who is subject to no change, and who is free from *malam*, produces all things. The proofs of this are the following.

1. Because the world exists in the three modes designated by *he*, *she*, *it*, and is subject to the three operations.

2. Because it is reproduced from *malam*, in the same way in which it was resolved into *malam*.

3. Because souls, in the same way that a worm becomes a wasp, and the caterpillar a beetle, appear in bodies which are ever changing by birth and death, in subjection to their *kaṇṇa-malam*.

4. Because inert *Māyei* is mere matter, and cannot assume form spontaneously.

* This term *urei* (உரை) signifies *meaning*, and is used to indicate certain brief explanations given of a leading stanza which precedes in each case where it occurs. These brief explanations following each *Sūttiram*, are supposed to be, like the *Sūttiram*, translations from the Sanskrit.

5. Because souls, on account of their being associated with *malam*, have not wisdom to take each its own body.

6. Because these souls exist, each in its own body, and act in accordance with their own *kanmam*.

COMMENTARY.

1. It is objected, that the world is eternal, and that the appearance and disappearance of things are natural phenomena, arising simply as antecedents and consequents [or from the natural relations of things].

Will not the wise say, O fool, that the world undergoes real destruction and reproduction, since it is carried forward in its course by the processes of resolution and development? And will they not say, after examination, and perceiving, as they do, by their senses, the production of one thing from another, its preservation for a season, and its decay, that your doctrine is not true, but that there must be a *Kattā* (கத்தா), divine Producer, for the world?

The term *pūthāthi*, the elements etc., here rendered *world*, includes all the developments from the five Elements up to *Nātham* [the first of the *Siva-Tattuvam*], and includes men, beasts, birds, worms, insects, etc., and the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. From the way in which the world is preserved, it appears that it could not eternally [of itself] have effected the operations of development, preservation and resolution.

The world is preserved by the successive and continued resolution and development of things. In this world, which is a real effect [of a cause], the resolution is first in order, the development follows, and the preservation is the intermediate stage.

The argument is analogical: as it may be perceived by the senses, that one thing, or being, is produced from another, is preserved for a season, and is then destroyed, it is hence inferred, that the doctrine involved in the objection, cannot be true, but that there must be a God for this world, as all the wise will say.

The following stanza goes to show that what does not exist [eternally], has no development, etc.; and that that which does exist [eternally], has no development, etc., without an actor. There is no production [or development] except from [or consequent upon] destruction by resolution.

2. That which is destroyed [the world], will be reproduced by him who destroyed it, just as the words and ideas which one has acquired, having been resolved in the mind, will be developed [or brought forth], whenever desired [by the soul].

The world, being resolved into *Māyei*, will, in the same way, be again developed from *Māyei*. Therefore, since the world is not developed from Deity, but from *Māyei*, *Māyei* must be the material cause of the universe.

In reference to the statement, that the processes of gradual destruction and reproduction of things, and the production of some things while others are being destroyed, are processes limited to things in this world, where these changes are witnessed, [it is asserted that] what is not here destroyed, will hereafter be destroyed [i. e. at the time of the Great Deluge].

This existence and development are predicable of all things. Hence, the author takes the position that Deity is the efficient cause, and *Māyei* the material cause, of the universe. The reason and proof of this will be given below.

The next stanza teaches that what is in *Māyei* may be developed. When developed, it will be in subjection to *kanmam*. He who develops will effect the development by the aid of his *Satti*. The soul will not be destroyed and re-developed.

3. In order to the development of a young plant, there must be a seed. If there were no seed, there would be no branches, etc.

Is it asked, what is the vivifying *tārakam* (தாரகம்), nutriment [or principle], for *Māyei*? it is the *Parā-Satti* of God.

What is the mode of one's existence? Each is in subjection to his own proper *kanmam* [or fated rule of action]. If this be not admitted, all is inexplicable.

NOTE.—The meaning is, that souls take bodies, and proceed through their stages of existence, in accordance with the law, or operation, of *kanma-malam*.

The body [in its changes] is like the worm which becomes a wasp. The [parent] wasp does not give to the worm, or caterpillar, life and form; but while the reptile is alive, it transforms its body [into its own likeness]. So, the De-

stroyer furnishes, and unites [with souls], the appropriate bodies.

Deity, standing in union with *Māyei*, as moisture in the plastic clay, operates [gives it its plastic nature, and develops it into form].

Therefore, *Māyei* is the material cause; *Satti* the instrumental cause; and Deity the efficient cause. The following are illustrations of this.

Māyei is the material cause [in nature], just as clay is to the potter's vessel. *Satti* is the instrumental cause, just as the moulding-stick and wheel are to the potter. Deity, like the potter, is the active agent [or efficient cause]. The world [or universe], like the earthen pot, is the effect of these three [combined] causes.

The proposition, that *Māyei* is the material cause [in nature] is proved: (1.) By the argument which evinces the cause from the effect, the world being an effect. (2.) By analogy; as the springing plant proves the preëxistence of the seed. (3.) By negation; as, if there be no seed, there will be no leaves, etc.

It is next declared how Deity made the world; that its operations are gracious; that Deity has not the least profit in these operations; and that it suffers no change in itself.

4. Deity, like time, is not affected by any thing, at any time. As time is really without change [in its nature], except as it stands to observers, in the relations of past, present and future; so Deity stands [or operates], without its own proper nature being lessened [or affected].

Standing in all souls equally, with due regard to their respective *kanmam*, Supreme Deity creates without creating, and preserves without preserving; i. e. it destroys [resolves] without destroying, and makes without making [or without creating, or originating]. These operations are like dreaming, where one understands his dream by means of his previous thoughts when awake.

To explain, such a dream is not a new thing to the dreamer. While he dreams, it is not a lie [i. e. it is to him as a new reality]; but when he wakes, it ceases to be a reality, he has no profit in it. So, while the world is produced and continued [by successive developments], as an effect, it is not to Deity a new existence, nor is it either a

lie [an illusion], or a reality, to it [i. e. all things are to Deity as one eternal, consentaneous whole]; nor has it any profit in its operations [i. e. it has neither pleasure nor pain]. It is here meant, that Deity is neither mutable, nor immutable [i. e. is not the subject of any emotions whatever].

The proposition that Deity, while carrying on its operations, is destitute of emotion, is supported by the analogical proof that it is as time, which has no desire, or emotion, respecting any thing which transpires. And the declaration that Deity, in its works, is without profit, and void of any change, as to pleasure, pain, etc., is supported by the analogy of one's dreaming.

Next follows a proof that Deity is at the end of all things. The world, which is known by observation, has no existence except as the consequence or result of a previous destruction or resolution, which was not seen; the destruction is the first stage [in the order of nature].

5. The world, an existence developed by Deity, which [Deity], though not seen in anything, is proved, by its works of creation, to exist, is resolved into *Māyei*, which, though not visible in any thing, yet is made manifest [or proved to exist] by its standing as the material cause of the universe.

It is objected, if the world be thus resolved into *Māyei*, that *Māyei*, which is invisible, and is that into which all things are resolved, must be the source or origin [of all things], and that hence there is no need of Deity. In answer to this objection, I reply, that such a divine power as is here implied, cannot exist in *Māyei*. But when the world is destroyed, will not this *Māyei*, which is inert matter, and destitute of any divine power, be destroyed with it? No; that is an imperishable substance.

Māyei is mere matter, and possesses no intrinsic power [of action, etc.]. It, therefore, moves [or acts] only as influenced by Deity in every particular. How long has it existed? It has existed from eternity.

In the foregoing five stanzas are exhibited, respecting Deity and *Māyei*, the *paksham*, doctrine maintained; the *āhu*, reasons [or the facts of the case]; the *tittāntam*, proofs by example; the *upanayam*, logical arrangement of the facts; and the *nikamanam*, conclusion drawn from the reasons given.

II.

SECOND SŪTTIRAM.

The Relation of God to the World and to Souls.

SŪTTIRAM.—God is the world that is designated by the terms *he, she, it*, which were mentioned before; and [in this sense] He is *apētham* (அபேதம்), not different [from the world]. But as the world is *asittu*, not spiritual [material], and God *sittu-rūpam* (இத்துரூபம்), a spiritual form, therefore He is *pētham* (பேதம்), different [from the world]. Being both *pētham* and *apētham*, He is said to be *pēthāpētham*. Therefore, in reference to the world, God [as a personal being in these several capacities] exists as *apēthan* (அபேதன்), *pēthan* (பேதன்), and *pēthāpēthan* (பேதாபேதன்). God exists as all the world, and yet as other than the world; He is perfectly mingled with the world, filling the whole, and yet is without the least weariness of these things. At His command souls are born and die, in accordance with their *kanmam*, good and bad deeds which they have before performed.

UREI.—God is the whole world; He is other than the world; He is closely united with the world, and fills every pore, and yet is not in the least entangled in it. While souls, by means of His *Satti*, experience births and deaths in accordance with their previous *kanmam*, He is eternally pure, and is one on whom the nature of souls never comes [i. e. he is never made the subject of their joys and sorrows in consequence of *kanmam*].

COMMENTARY.

The first stanza teaches the nature of the union of God with souls.

1. The body, which is constructed of bone, skin, muscles, tendons, etc., and which possesses organs formed from the Elements, is so intimately united with the soul, that the soul always responds when the name of the body is mentioned. Such is the intimate connection of God with the soul; yet God is not the soul, nor is the soul God. Sometimes God appears as the soul, and at other times, as other than the soul.

The proposition, that God exists in intimate union with the soul, and yet is other than the soul, has analogical proof

in the union of soul and body, it having been before shown that the soul and body are different.

The following stanza asserts, against the Vēthāntists, who maintain that God and the soul are not two, that they are two, and that without God the soul has no power of action.

2. The Vētham teach that he who first existed alone, who is eternal, pure [or free from *malam*], and who has no equals or superiors, is one. That one is God; and thou who sayest ~~that~~ they [God and the soul] are one, art the soul. Thou art entangled in *pāsam*; and since thou art entangled in *pāsam*, this, by the rule of exception, evinces God to be free. If there be not a God distinct [from the soul], the soul would have no power of motion or action; just as the simple letters would be mute, if there were no vowel *a* (*அ*).

The proposition, that God and soul are intimately united, and that the soul has no power of action without God, finds analogical proof in the case of the vowel *a* and the simple letters.

The following stanza explains the union in which the soul and God cease to appear as two.

3. As sound and the tune, so God and the world. As sound is to the tune, filling all its notes, so is God to the world, pervading all its forms. As neither tune nor notes can exist without a musician, so there must be three eternal entities.

As the fruit and its flavor, so God and the world. As the flavor pervades all parts of the fruit, so God pervades the world from the first.

As the oil and the sesamum-seed, so God and the world. As the oil so exists in the seed that it can be separated, so God pervades the world, and yet is separable from it.

The *Satti* of Deity perfectly fills and pervades the world, and is so intimately connected with it that they do not appear to be two; and yet she is something different from the world.

Therefore, the difficult *Vētham*, without asserting that they are one, do declare that they are *attuvitham*, not two [a unity in duality].

It is maintained, that, in reference to the union of God with the soul, or the world, *attuvitham* does not mean *ekam*

(ஓகம்), oneness, for the term *ēkam* is used in the *Vētham*, and might be here used, if that were the strict idea. The meaning is, that God [and His *Satti*] exist in so close a union with the soul, etc., that they are not apprehended as two.

The very existence of the person who asserts that the expression *attuvitham* means merely *oneness*, proves that he and God are not one. The expression does not mean that they are two; but that they are so united as not to be [or appear to be] separate persons.

The proposition, that God is thus intimately united with the universe, and actuates it, is established by the analogy of sound and tune. The proposition, that He stands from eternity in this intimate union with all things, is proved by the analogy of the fruit and its flavor. The proposition, that God is in such a sense one with the world, or the soul, and yet different from it, is argued from the analogy of the seed and the oil.

The next stanza meets those who assert that *attuvitham* means *oneness*, and that *Piramam* (பிரம்மம்) [Brahm] is every thing; and confirms the foregoing position.

4. God produces the world, and stands in so close a union with it, that He may be said to be the world [or to exist as the world], just as we speak of the whet-stone, which is composed of gold-wax and sand. Because God enters into my soul, when I stand freed from the influences of the senses, etc., I might speak of myself as the world. This entrance of God into the soul is not a new thing. The fact of God's close union with me from eternity becomes manifest [or is understood], when I become free from the control of the senses.

Here, then, the proposition that God and the world stand as *attuvitham*, is proved by the analogy of the whet-stone, which is composed of both wax and sand.

Without the divine agency, neither merit nor demerit has any influence on the soul; and when the soul is affected by either, it is only that which previously existed, that has any effect; and when God produces any such effect, He does it without either desire or hatred.

5. When a body comes into existence in accordance with previously existing *kanmam*, the soul to which that body belongs, will come and unite with it.

But how is it that *kanmam* is found in connection with the soul, which is pure from eternity? The soul is not pure [i. e. free from *kanmam*] from eternity. Its previously performed *vinei* (வினை), action [= *kanmam*], exists with it from eternity.

NOTE.—The primordial state of the soul is that of a being which, though in itself essentially pure, is enshrouded in *pāsam*, and is thus rendered relatively impure. I have never met with any attempt to explain the assumed fact that the soul is thus originally enthralled.

What which causes the existence of body is *kanman*; how then can *kanmam* exist without a body? They [*kanmam* and body] exist from eternity in relation one to another, as the seed to the tree; and, also, as the crop of grain to the food it furnishes, and to the seed it yields for another year.

He [God], the giver of whatever is needed, is the cause of these entanglements in *pāsam*, and ultimately secures liberation from the same.

God, in these operations, is like the field which yields its stores to those who cultivate it. The field that is sown with red paddy [has no intrinsic power to vary its products, and thus] does not yield grain differing from what was sown. So God, like the field, operates without desire or hatred [simply carries out the law of *kanman*, having no will or power to do otherwise].

But is he, who thus operates, unaffected by emotion or purpose? He is entirely unaffected. These operations transpire simply in his presence. The products of the field are produced, and are matured, while the field lies perfectly passionless; so it is with the works of God.

We have here the proposition, *paksham*, that God, without the emotion of desire, or of hatred, separates souls from bodies, and reunites them [with other bodies]; the reason, *ēthu*, which declares that this is done in accordance with *kanmam*; the analogy, *sa-paksham*, wherein the divine operations are compared to the field; and the exception, *vi-paksham*, by which it is proved that there would be no operations [no effects produced], if there were no previous *kanmam*.

The assertions, that souls can assume bodies for themselves in accordance with the law of *kanmam*; that *kanmam* spontaneously attaches itself to bodies; and, consequently,

that no God is required, are, in the following stanza, denied; and, on the contrary, it is maintained, that these several operations are the works of God.

6. While souls are eating the fruit of their former *kanmam*, a process which is called [*piráráttam* (பிராரத்தம்), or] *pirárátta-kanmam*, they are unconsciously sowing for a future crop [to be gathered and eaten]. This process [of sowing] is called [*ákámiyam* (ஆகாமியம்), or] *ákámiya-kanmam*. These actors [souls], while thus sowing, come into [organic] union with the prospective *kanmam* [future crop] which they must eventually eat; and by this means they will be compelled, just as the iron is drawn to the magnet, to gather what they have sown, and to eat it. This process [of reaping] is called [*sagnchitham* (சஞ்சிதம்), or] *sagnchitha-kanmam*.

Now, if they do not experience all this through the agency of God, who is there that is able to understand and properly bring together all these things, [carrying souls] through all their various and respective *yōni* (யோனி), matrices, in all their worlds [or places of existence]?

The next stanza teaches that the three *malam*, *āṇavam*, *māyei* and *kanmam*, are eternal; that God is omniscient; that souls have limited understanding; and that Deity changes not.

NOTE.—The three *malam* are, according to this School, coëxistent with souls, each soul being enveloped in this complex ethereal existence, just as the unblown flower is in its calix, or its archetype in its primordial undeveloped organism. *Māyei* is primordial matter, that from which the body is developed. *Āṇavam* is original sin, or the source of moral darkness and suffering to souls. Inherent in *Māyei*, in all its modes of existence, *āṇavam* imparts its own character to the whole developed organism. *Kanmam* is that imperative power [or fate] which inheres in the organism of the soul, in all stages of its existence, prescribes its course, and meets out its deserts.

7. *Āṇava*, *māyā* and *kanma-malam*, are fetters to souls, coëxistent with them, just as the husk does with paddy, and rust with copper, which are not new things, but are aboriginal and coëxistent. God actuates these *malam* [bringing out all that is required by *kanmam*], just as the sun's rays cause some flowers to open, and others to close. He does this for the purpose of removing *āṇava-malam*.

The propositions, that the soul is eternally entangled in these *malam*; and that the three *malam* always coëxist, are established by the analogies of the paddy with its husk, and the copper with its rust.

The proposition, that God carries on, without change or emotion in Himself, the five operations, which are for the purpose of removing the *malam*, is proved by the analogy of the sun's influence on flowers.

Souls are declared to have limited understanding, because they are from eternity entangled in *malam*; while God is asserted to be omniscient.

God remains unchanged in all His operations [or unaffected by them], just as the sun does, while flowers open and shut in its presence.

As the same solar ray varies in its influence [on flowers, etc.], so does God in His operations. His *Sit-Satti* (அந்தி), Illuminating *Satti*, assumes different forms, sometimes that of *Ichchâ-Satti*, sometimes that of *Gnânâ-Satti*, and sometimes that of *Kiriyâ-Satti*. In this way the Lord himself becomes the possessor of the powers of resolution, production and preservation, and thus appears as the subject of *ichchei*, *gnânam*, and *kirikei*.

NOTE.—The idea is, that God in His essential nature, as the Great Male, or Father, of the universe, is subject to no change, in affection or otherwise. But, by His intimate union with His coëxistent *Satti*, He becomes the apparent subject, as well as source, of emotions, and of all the properties of an operative being.

The next stanza treats of the course of souls through births and deaths, and refutes the doctrine of those who say that souls have no understanding at death, and that they have no other body than their gross body of sense.

8. As the mind, that understands the things which the soul sees, feels, and possesses, when awake, does, in sleep, forget them all, so the soul, at death, leaves its *stûla-sarîram*, gross body, composed of eyes, ears, etc., which was prepared for it in accordance with the demands of its before acquired *kanmam*, and with its *sûkkuma-sarîram* (சூக்குமசரீரம்), vehicular body, adapted to its existence in heaven or hell, passes off through the air. The soul thus conditioned, passes as an atom [or invisible being] with its *sûkkuma-sarîram*, and, quicker than thought reaches its object, falls into the womb at conception.

It is here implied, that sometimes the soul, because of its enormous sins, will lie as a stone, for a season, without falling into any womb.

At other times, the soul is so rapid in its transition from one body to another, that it will be re-invested without apparently leaving its former body, just as the span-worm does not entirely quit one position till it reaches the next. This further implies that certain intermediate steps [or births] may be omitted, so that it [the soul] may at once take a body fitted either for heaven or hell.

As one, in a dreaming state, understands and acts differently from what he does when awake, so the soul's understanding will undergo a change in accordance with its successive bodies; but it is not destroyed while the body is changing. Thus the soul, with its *sūkkuma-sarīram*, is ever prepared either for enjoyment in heaven, or for suffering in hell [as its *kanmam* may demand]. These points are established by the analogy of dreaming.

There are three kinds of bodies, viz: *yāthanā-sarīram* (யாதனாசரீரம்), body of agony, capable of suffering in hell [yet indestructible by pain]; *pūthasāra-sarīram* (பூதசாரசரீரம்), subtile body, fitted for heaven [the world of minor gods, where the body is such as the gods have, over whom Indra rules]; *parunāma-sarīram* (பருனாமசரீரம்), changeable body, adapted to this world of *kanmam* [or probation].

NOTE.—The Tamil *Sāstiris* speak of five *sarīram*. These are commonly denominated: *stūlam* (ஸ்தூலம்), *lingam* (இலிங்கம்), *āttumam* (ஆத்துமம்), *param'-āttumam* (பரமாத்நம்), and *mak'-āttumam* (மகாத்நம்). The *stūlam*, and the *lingam*, which is the same as the *sūkkumam*, coexist whenever the *stūlam* exists at all. The others are higher successive developments, which the soul comes to enjoy as it advances in *gnānam*, divine knowledge.

The author next meets and refutes several heterodox notions, viz: that, respecting the two bodies, *stūlam* and *sūkkumam*, one is developed only as the other is destroyed; that *arivu*, the understanding, perishes [with the body]; that the *yōni*, matrices, do not change [or that there are not various forms for the same soul]; that God exists as the soul, and that they [God and the soul] will eventually become one again; and that souls are all one being [individu-

alized by development, and all eventually to be resolved into the great fountain Soul].

In opposition to these several dogmas, the author shows that the understanding and the body will suffer change; in the way of new productions, and that the soul is subject to a diversity of births [or forms].

9. The case of the soul [at death], when it leaves its *stūla-tēkam* [= *stūla-sarīram*], and, as one possessed of *sūkkuma-tēkam*, takes another gross body, is like the snake's passing out of its old skin [with its new skin]; or like one in a dream, as before mentioned; or like those who [through their high mystic attainments, in *sitti*] leave their own bodies, and enter the bodies of others. The oneness of the atmosphere and the air in a pot, when the pot is broken, does not represent this case [i. e. the state of the soul at death; for it is as distinct a being at death as before, being still organized and intelligent]. Nor does the case of a dancer, who represents different characters by simply changing his dress, meet the case [i. e. the soul is not individualized merely by its organism; but it is in itself an individual being].

The similitude of the serpent's leaving his slough, is given in reference to those who say that one body is destroyed when another is developed; that is, to such as maintain that there is no *sūkkuma-sarīram* different from *stūlam*; it is here proved, that there is [such a vehicular body], just as the snake has a new skin before it drops its old one.

The import of the similitude of the dream is, that the soul [in its transition-stage] is just as if it were united with the *sūkkuma-tēkam* in a dream, when its understanding, which is connected with the *stūla-tēkam*, and which in the waking state sees, hears, tastes, smells and feels, is not destroyed.

The similitude of a person's leaving his own body, and entering the body of another, meets the assertion of those who maintain that the *yōni*, matrices, of souls are not varied.

The declaration, that the state of the transmigrating soul is not like that of the dancer referred to, is given as the refutation of the doctrine of those who assert that souls are one in essence.

The showing that the similitude of the atmosphere and the air in a pot, does not represent the state of the soul at death, is given as a refutation of the doctrine of the *Māyāvādī* (மாயவாதி) [a School of Vēthāntists].

The propositions, that the *sūkkuma-sarīram* is never destroyed; that *arivu*, the understanding, does not perish in the process of transmigration; and that the *achchu* (அச்சு) [= *yōni*], matrices, are varied [to meet the demands of *kanmam*], are supported, respectively, by the analogies of the snake, the dream, and the soul of a devotee passing into the body of another.

The all-pervading nature of God is next explained. God fills all space, without being limited or confined by any thing.

10. If you assert that, according to the doctrine that God fills all those things which may be designated by the terms *he, she, it*, He is not one being, nor many, but both one and many, the truth is, that He exists as perfectly filling every place. He is not divided so as to occupy individual places, as an individual. None of these things designated by *he, she, it*, exist isolated [or entirely separate from God]. Just as the sun's light, while it spreads every where, is not confined [or entangled by any thing], so it is with God. If God and the universe be thus, how, it may be asked, do *Sathāsivan*, who combines in himself the Male and Female Energies of Deity, and the other great gods, exist? *Sathāsivan* and the other gods, and also the universe, are the servants of Deity, and perform the work of servants in their respective places.

The proposition, that God is not confined to any place, and does not exist as many things, but exists pervading all space, is argued from the analogy of the sun's light.

III.

THIRD SŪTTIRAM.

Proof of the Existence of Soul.

SŪTTIRAM.—Soul exists in a body formed, as a machine, from *Māyei*, in its developments. That there is a soul, is evinced by the rule of exception, [by which it is asserted of every thing else] that this, that, etc., is not the soul. Because, the soul says, this is my body, therefore, it exists as something other than the body; just as one says: these are my things, therefore they are something different from me.

Because the soul has a knowledge of the five Perceptive Organs [or understands by them], therefore, it is other than they. And because it understands its course through the *Avattei* [the organisms of life, intelligence, etc.], therefore, it exists as something different from them. During sleep, there is neither eating, nor other action; therefore, the soul exists as something different from the body. Because the soul understands instruction given [any communication made to it], therefore, it must have existence.

NOTE.—The foregoing argument from the condition of one in sleep, is based on the assumed truth that life and soul are essentially the same. Body is regarded, in any condition, as mere matter. Therefore, it is inferred, that, as life manifestly continues while the body sleeps, there must be soul distinct from body.

UREI.—The proposition, that soul exists, is here established by the illustrative examples given, viz: this and that are not the soul; this is my body; it [the soul] knows the Perceptive Organs, and the way through the *Avattei*; it understands when a thing is made known; when one is asleep, there is neither eating nor acting.

COMMENTARY.

The first stanza goes to show that the existence of the soul is proved by the rule of exception—that this or that is not the soul. In reference to the objection that *Pathi*, *Pasu*, *Pāsam*, have no existence as eternal entities, and that body itself has no understanding, it is here shown, that those three first things are realities, and that the body has no understanding, but that the soul has.

1. That which stands inseparably connected with the five mystic symbols [*a, u, m, Vintu, Nātham*]; that which says: I am not the Seven *Tāthu* (சத்ததாது), essential parts of the human body [viz: humors, blood, semen, brain and marrow, skin, muscles, bones], nor the Organs of Action, nor the five Perceptive Organs—that which, having thus distinguished itself from all these, still says of all things else: this, this, etc., is not I—that one thing which thus exists, distinguished from all these, is the soul [or, lit., is thyself]. Now, thou art in union with the Perceptive Organs etc.; yet, just as the mirror, which reflects the objects near it, is not itself those objects, so the Perceptive Organs etc., which

reflect or show thee to others, and which are mere inert effects from the material cause, *Māyei*, and in which thou art developed, are not thyself. And though thou shouldest say: because I stand in the five Perceptive Organs, and know all things, therefore I am God, yet know that thou art not He who is exalted above the highest.

Thou [the soul] art not God, nor *Māyei*, nor the various organs of the body; but thou art alone, an individual being, an eternal one.

The material, bodily organs exhibit the pleasures and pains which the soul experiences in its progressive course, just as the mirror reflects the objects near it.

As the mirror, without the sun's light, cannot show any thing to the observer, so the soul, in union with the Perceptive Organs etc., has no life [or manifestation], without the agency of God.

Hence, there must be three eternal entities [Deity, Soul, Matter].

The proposition, that the soul can have no animation when dissociated from God, is established by the analogy of the mirror, the adjacent object, and the sun's light; and by the rule of exception, according to which it is declared, that, when no object is presented before the mirror, and, also, when there is no light from the sun, then the mirror can reflect nothing.

It is shown, in the next stanza, that the soul exists in the body. Some ask, whether the body itself has no understanding, and whether *unārvu* (உணர்வு) [= அறிவு, *arivu*], the understanding itself, cannot know [or perceive] things. In answer to this, it is shown that neither body nor understanding can have knowledge.

2. According to universal custom in the world, one says of his own property: this is mine; and of what is not his own: this is not mine; which shows that man is something else than his property. Therefore, as thou [soul] art in the habit of saying of thy hands, thy feet, thy body, which are not essential parts [or properties] of thyself: they are mine; and of *arivu*, the understanding, which is not thine intrinsically: it is mine; so, since what one claims to be his own, is something different from himself, these organic properties, which thou claimest, are something other than thyself.

It is customary to say, respecting any thing which is known: I thought so; I did so; I said so. Therefore, the possessor of *arivu*, understanding, must be something different from it.

This common mode of expression [this is mine, etc.], is analogical proof that the soul is different from the body; so that this whole argument for the soul's existence, is contained in the expression: my body.

The existence of the soul is next proved from its knowledge of the Perceptive Organs. This is designed to meet those who say that there is no other soul than these five organs.

3. The Perceptive Organs differ from one another in their functions, one not apprehending the objects of another. These organs, called body, tongue, eyes, nose, and ears, may all convey the sensation of touch, which power they [the last four] have besides their own respective functions. If there is a being which can understand the objects of the five Perceptive Organs, which are indicated by the five mystic letters, viz: sound, tangibility, form, flavor, odor, thou [soul] art that one. Thou canst see, since thou art one who distinguishest the objects of these several organs, that thou art not one of them.

NOTE.—These five mystic letters are those of the *pañcāḥkaram* in its third stage of development. They are *na-ma-si-vā-ya* (நமசிவாய). See this Journal, Vol. II. p. 154.

Because there is something which, after it has perceived and understood the objects of sense, and after those objects are removed, still exists reflecting on them, therefore, that something must be the soul, which differs from all those things. That it is so, inquire and know.

This is established by stating the *sāthanam*, premises, and the *sāttiyam*, conclusion.

The soul's existence is proved from its knowing the course of the *Avattei*. To those who assert that it is the *pirāṇa-vāyu* that exercises the functions of understanding, it is answered, that then there would be no understanding when the *Avattei* are resolved [or in a quiescent state].

4. While the *pirāṇa-vāyu* is carrying on the process of breathing, in the body respecting which it is said: thou

[soul] art not it, and while the Perceptive Organs lie dormant [in sleep], the soul, passing to a position in which its active functions [or organs] are dormant, and from whence it passes out, with its vehicular body, will, in its dreams, carry on its sports, now riding on an elephant, now crowning it with flowers, and now performing various exploits, etc.; and then, again, is at once restored to its own gross body. Hence it is plain, that thou who doest this, art not the *pirāṇa-vāyu*, nor the body.

Respecting the existence of the soul at the time of sleep, when there is no action. Some say that the combination of the Elements produces intelligence, just as the mingling of turmeric and lime produces redness. And some assert that the bodily organs have intelligence.

5. The body which, as some say, sees and understands all things, sees not, when that which causes it to see is dormant. In sleep, one lies merely breathing, neither eating nor acting; therefore, that which sees and understands [in that state] is the soul. But is it said, that *arivu*, the understanding, is produced by the combination of the five Elements? Then *arivu* would never vary in its operations, and would never become dormant. Depending on the combination of the Elements, which is permanent [while the body lasts], it must always be the same. On the same principle [if *arivu* is a mere result of bodily organization—a mere phenomenon of organism], eating and drinking, being other phenomena of the body, should continue also, when the body sleeps.

Though the organ of the eyes be perfect, and the object before it be illuminated, yet, if the attention be absorbed in another [a mental] object, the eyes see nothing. That *arivu* which apprehends the object of attention, must be something else than the eye, or body.

Here, the reasoning being from effect to cause, the argument stands in the form of premise and conclusion.

The sixth stanza meets certain objections respecting the conscious, thinking soul. There are some [the *Sivāttuvithi* (சிவாத்துவிதி)] who say that one and the same being [God] exists as *siv'-āttumam* (சிவாத்துமம்), the sentient, living soul; as *param'-āttumam* (பரமாத்துமம்), the soul of the universe; and as *Para-Pīramam* (பரப்பிரமம்) [Brahm], Supreme Deity;

and that, in these cases, there is no real change, other than what the atmosphere undergoes by being confined in vessels of different forms. This idea is here refuted.

6. That which understands some things, which desires to know what may be known, which seeks for those who can teach these things, which is ignorant of some things, which forgets some things once known, which, though its active, auxiliary bodily organs, as the *Avatlei*, lie dormant in sleep, yet is itself still active, and understands as when awake—something must be different from God who knows at once all things. That being which understands things as above mentioned, and is the servant of God, is the soul. All who know the truth, will testify to this.

God is omniscient, and destitute of pleasure and pain. But the soul is of limited understanding, is capable of being instructed, is subject to the *Avatlei*, and experiences pleasure and pain. Therefore, the dogma of the *Sivāttuvithi*, that the sentient soul and the soul of the universe are one, is here refuted. This is done by a statement of premises and conclusion, in which the cause is argued from the effect.

The body, which is formed from *Māyei*, as a machine, exists under different [forms and] names. Hence is inferred the existence of soul. But the doctrine that *Sittu*, Spirit [Deity], is itself changed into [or is developed as] the world, and exists also as *sīvan*, life, is here denied.

7. It may be known by inquiry, that all the Tattuvam from *kalei* [including five of the *Vīṭṭiyā-Tattuvam*] to *piruthuvi* [the first of the *Āttuma-Tattuvam*, hence including all the *Āttuma-Tattuvam*, and all but two of the *Vīṭṭiyā*], are developed from, and are resolved into, *Māyei*. The body, with the indwelling soul, is addressed as a person, just as we designate a lamp by the word *light*. When one has come to understand, through Sivan, *Siva-guānam*, the wisdom of Sivan, thus having become pure [or free from the darkness of *malam*], and then inquires into these things, he knows that his body is composed of all the Tattuvam from *kalei* to *piruthuvi*, and that he [his soul] is different from his body.

The body is here compared to a lamp, on the ground that the lamp is constituted of the vessel, wick, and oil, combined.

The idea that the soul understands things through the instrumentality of the body, and yet has no understanding independent of God, is taught by the expression: when the soul has come to understand, through Sivan, *Siva-gnānam*, etc.

It is here shown, that all from *kalei* to *piruthuvi* is material; and that this is not the soul.

The proposition, that the soul, operating in its several bodily organs, has understanding, is argued from the analogy of the lamp.

IV.

FOURTH SŪTTIRAM.

Respecting the Soul in its Relations to the Antakaraṇam.

SŪTTIRAM.—The soul is not one of the *Antakaraṇam* [*manam*, *putti*, *akangkāram*, and *sittam*], but it is that which stands intimately united with them. The soul naturally exists [from eternity] in *āṇava-mālam*, just as pure copper does within its rusty exterior; on this account, it is in itself destitute of understanding. The soul [when developed] enters into the five *Avattei*, and exists with them, just as a king with his prime minister and other attendants.

UREI.—Having previously spoken of the external Tattuvam, the author here treats of the *uṭkaraṇam* (உட்காணம்), internal Tattuvam [= the *Antakaraṇam*].

When an earthly king, having made an excursion with his prime minister and other attendants, returns to his palace, he appoints suitable persons to wait at all the outer gates, and stations a guard at the entrance of the inner courts, and then retires to his private apartments. Thus the soul, in the body, its *pirāna-vāyu* standing as a guard to its inner courts, enters into the five *Avattei*.

COMMENTARY.

It is first shown, that the soul is not one of the *Antakaraṇam*. To such as assert that the *Antakaraṇam* have understanding, it is here answered, that the soul understands, not they.

1. Though the five Perceptive Organs apprehend their respective objects by means of the *Antakaraṇam*, yet no one of the *Antakaraṇam* is the same as any one of these organs.

Manam and the others, which are developed in the body in accordance with the law of *kanmam*, perform their respective functions as instruments of the soul, just as the Perceptive Organs do theirs as instruments of the *Antakaraṇam*. This is like waves in the ocean.

Here, the sea is the soul, the waves are the *Antakaraṇam*, and the wind is *malam*. As the waves rise according to the state of the wind, so the objects of sense come up in accordance with *kanmam*. The soul, in one of the *Antakaraṇam*, aided by the instrumentality of one of the Perceptive Organs, understands such objects.

The proposition, that the soul understands by means of the *Antakaraṇam*, is established by the analogy of the sea and the waves.

The fact that the soul is no one of the *Antakaraṇam*, though they perform their functions only as its instruments, is analogous to the fact that, though the Perceptive Organs have no power of perception except as instruments of the *Antakaraṇam*, yet no one of the *Antakaraṇam* is the same as any one of the Perceptive Organs.

It is next shown, that the soul is intimately connected with the *Antakaraṇam*. The nature of the *Antakaraṇam* is pointed out, and the soul shown to be different from them.

2. *Sittam* is the organ of [clear and determinative] thought. *Akangkāram* is the darkening organ, the foundation of self and pride; it leads [the soul] to say [in view of its attainments]: "I, mine, none like me," etc. *Putti* is the organ of discrimination, that is, it discriminates and defines the objects which come before the mind in accordance with *kanmam*. *Manam* is the organ of attention, and presents objects [through the senses], but does not clearly define them. That which stands in these several organs, and performs variously their respective functions, is the soul. By means of the different *Antakaraṇam*, the soul presents various phases [or mental phenomena], just as the sun varies in its expression [as to heat and light], at rising, at noon, in the afternoon, and at setting.

As a person tastes and points out the six flavors, while no one of them, e. g. bitterness, is conscious of its own taste; so the soul, while the *Antakaraṇam* are unconscious of their respective natures, understands them all.

The proposition, that the soul is something different from the *Antakaraṇam*, and that, when in union with them, it exhibits their respective phenomena [or performs their different functions], is argued from the analogy of the sun, which is something different from the several parts of the day which it marks, and which presents different appearances and intensity in those different parts of the day.

NOTE.—The *Antakaraṇam* are a sort of intermediate instrumental agents, standing between the soul and the senses. Through them, also, the soul, aided by divine illumination, is enabled to understand things in a truer light and in truer relations, than it is possible for the senses to present them. By the aid of *manam*, attention and simple perception are secured. By the aid of *putti*, the soul gets a distinct and definite idea of the object presented. Through the agency of *akangkāram*, the soul is individualized, and is led to appropriate to itself its attainments, and thus exhibits selfishness and pride. Through the organ *sittam*, the soul carries on the processes of thought, inference, etc., and is thus enabled to soar into the intellectual regions.

It is next shown, how the five mystic letters become the proper forms of the *Antakaraṇam* and of the soul.

3. The letter *a* (அ) is the proper form of *akangkāram*; *u* (உ) is the proper form of *putti*; *m* (ம்) is the proper form of *manam*; *Vintu* (விந்து) is the proper form of *sittam*; *Nātham* (நாதம்), which is never dissociated from the other four symbols, is the proper form of the soul. If you examine into these five symbols, you will see that they form the *Piraṇava-sorūpam* (பிரணவசொருபம்), the proper form of *Piraṇavam*. The *arivu*, understanding, of the soul, when thus favorably combined with these five symbols, is like the high tides of the sea.

When the soul, still in union with them, causes the *Antakaraṇam*, and the letters, to speak out, *Piraṇavam* takes the form of *Nātham*. Then the understanding of the soul is as the tides of the ocean [i. e. in its highest degree, like the high tides of the sea, which arise at the time of the conjunction of the sun and moon].

When the *Antakaraṇam* and the letters coöperate perfectly, the understanding of the soul is greatly diversified in its operations.

This proposition is established by the analogy of the sea and its tides.

NOTE.—*Piraṇavam* is a technical term, of deep mystic meaning. It is commonly used in all parts of India, wherever the higher doctrines are understood. Prof. Wilson defines it to be “the mystical name of the Deity, or syllable *Om*.” It has, however, a more extensive meaning. In the sense of *Om*, it symbolizes *Para-Piramam*, the first developed Male Deity; *Āthi-Satti*, the Prime, or first developed, *Satti*; and *Āttumam*, soul. But, as seen above, it is composed of, or embraces, the five mystic letters, and hence, as a name of Deity, it extends to the five superior developed gods, viz: *Sathāsivan*, *Mayēsuran*, *Ruttiran*, Vishṇu and Brahmā. Tamil authors further teach that from this same *Piraṇavam* there arise eleven other particulars, beside these five letters, which are mystic developments of Deity, its *Satti*, etc., in the human body. But according to the more common, and more correct, Tamil usage, *Piraṇavam* is to be understood as the complex symbol of the sacred five, and an incarnation of the powers of the five gods. *Ōṅkāram*, or *Om*, frequently has the same meaning. *Om*, however, often indicates the common Triad: Brahmā, Vishṇu and Sivan, whose respective indices are *a*, *u*, *m*, which are the constituents of *Om* (*aum*).

Because these five letters are material, they cannot operate except as instruments of the gods inherent in them. So, also, the *Antakaraṇam*, being material organs, though in close union with these letters, cannot act except as instruments of the soul occupying them.

4. The gods, which have a connection with *Piraṇavam*, are innumerable [i. e. there may be innumerable developments of the five operative gods, each of which five-fold classes may act through these organic symbols]. But the supreme divinity of *Nātham* is *Sathāsivan*; that of *Vintu* is *Mayēsuran*; that of *m* is *Ruttiran*; that of *u* is Vishṇu; and that of *a* is Brahmā. As there is no profit [from *Piraṇavam*] either to the whole *Piraṇavam*, or to the letters severally, but the advantage is all his who understands them; so there is no profit to the *Antakaraṇam*, either from the letters or their divinities, but it wholly accrues to the soul.

This statement, that these letters are the proper forms of the *Antakaraṇam*, and that *Sathāsivan*, and the rest of the five, are the prime divinities of these letters, is the doctrine of the *Sāstiram*.

It is next taught, that the soul is naturally, and from eternity, obscured [without intelligence], on account of its connection with *āṇava-malam*. Contrary to those who assert that the soul is pure [or unentangled in *malam*], but is obscured by the body, and, also, to those who say that *puruṣan*, the disembodied soul, is itself intelligent, it is here asserted, that it is not so; and the proper state of the soul is given, and the nature of *māyei* is explained.

5. If the soul, which is something different from the body which is formed from *māyei*, cannot see by means of the body which it holds as a lamp, then it has no means of knowing and experiencing any of the fruits of *kanmam* which appear in the various objects of sense. *Āṇava-malam* enshrouds the soul from eternity, just as wood conceals fire [latent heat] within it, so as not to be consumed by it.

The proposition, that *āṇava-malam* shrouds the understanding of the soul, is argued from the analogy of the wood and the fire.

Āṇava-malam is darkness; and *māyei* is a lamp. Until *āṇava-malam* is removed, *māyā-tēkam* (மாயாதேகம்), body formed from *māyei*, is the lamp [of the soul]; but when *āṇava-malam* is dispersed by the sun of wisdom, it will cease to be a lamp.

View of the soul, when it stands, as a king with his ministers, in the *Avattei*. Here is presented that state of things which exists when *āṇava-malam* obscures the understanding of the soul.

NOTE.—In order to understand what follows, we must consider the soul as in the human body, commencing with its first stage of development there, and rising thence to a conscious and active existence, in its organism. The states of the soul called *Avattei*, are here named, and imperfectly explained. For a more complete view of the *Avattei*, see the preceding article, pp. 19–25 of this volume.

6. The soul in *mūlāthāram* (மூலாதாரம்), the lowest condition of the embodied soul, which is the *Avattei* called *turiyā-thūtham*, has no connection with any of its bodily organs, or *Tattuvam*. In the *turiya-avattei*, in the region of the navel, it becomes united with *pirāṇa-vāyu*. Passing thence to the region of the heart, it comes into the *Avattei* called *sulutti*, where it forms a connection with *sittam*. Passing thence to

the throat, it attains to the *Avattei* called *soppanam*, where it is always associated with twenty-five *Tattuvam*, viz: the five Rudimental Elements, *sattam*, etc.; the Five Vital Airs, *vasanam*, etc.; the Ten Vital Airs, *pirāṇa-vāyu*, etc.; the four *Antakaraṇam*, *manam*, etc.; and *puruṣan* [one of the *Vit-tiyā-Tattuvam*]. Proceeding thence to the forehead, to the *Avattei* called *sākkiram* [between the eyebrows], it comes into the possession of the five Organs of Action, *vāṅku*, etc.; and the five Perceptive Organs. In this state, the soul has become a conscious and intelligent being. Yet it is wanting in several of the higher *Tattuvam*, viz: the five *Siva-Tattuvam*; the six *Vit-tiyā-Tattuvam* not named above; and the five Elements.

Respecting the *Mēlāl-Avattei*, the vision of the *Avattei*, and the transition of the soul to the *Sutta-Avattei*.

7. The soul, which is thus possessed of the *sākkira-avattei*, in the forehead, will, in the same place, also come into possession of the five *Mēlāl-Avattei*, beginning with *sākkiram*, just as it came into possession of the *Kēṭṭil-Avattei*. In the same region, in the forehead, when the soul has come to understand the courses of these several organs, as it has [before] left one set and joined another, so it will quit the latter [the *Mēlāl-Avattei*], and take possession [of the *Sutta-Avattei*].

This is to be understood by the instruction of the Guru. The divine grace [in him] is our *tārukam*, support [or source of true knowledge].

V.

FIFTH SŪTTIRAM.

For the Further Explanation of the Nature of the Embodied Soul, the Way in which God actuates Souls, and the Proper Forms of the Three Maṣam, commonly called Kanman, Māyei and Āṇavam, are here presented.

SŪTTIRAM.—As before stated, the five Perceptive Organs perceive nothing except as instruments of the soul, and yet while they [actuated by the soul] perceive the objects presented to them, they have no knowledge of the soul. So souls, while they understand, whatever they know, by the

Arul [or *Arul-Satti*] of the incomparable God, notwithstanding, have [in this process] no knowledge of God. This condition of the soul with God is like that of iron before the magnet [which is a passive and unconscious recipient of a foreign influence]. When the magnet attracts the iron, there is in the magnet neither change, nor want of change; just so, when God attracts souls, there is in Him neither change nor want of change.

UREI.—The fact that the Perceptive Organs have no knowledge of the soul, while in perceiving objects they are its instruments, and the consideration that it is because they are material that it is so, furnish analogical support for the proposition that the soul has no knowledge of God, while it understands things as it is acted upon by Him; and, also, for the reason, which is that the soul can know nothing of itself, and that, like matter, it must be influenced by God.

COMMENTARY.

In the first stanza it is shown, that the Perceptive Organs have no power of perception except as instruments of the soul; and, further, that the soul cannot apprehend any thing, nor be made to eat [experience] even one *kanmam*, without the aid of the Perceptive Organs.

1. While the soul exists as the lord of the Perceptive Organs, causing them to operate, these organs are not conscious that they are acting in obedience to the soul, nor that the soul is their lord. If the soul, while thus united with the Perceptive Organs, does not understand, then it cannot know any thing. If the soul, which is thus made intelligent, does not occupy the Perceptive Organs [as their lord], then the eyes cannot see, nor the ears hear, nor the other Perceptive Organs apprehend their appropriate objects.

This is manifest from the fact that, when the soul exists in the forehead of an infant, and in certain of the *Avattei*, even the Perceptive Organs have no functional life.

Here we have the proposition that the soul perceives by its union with the Perceptive Organs, and, also, the exception which proves that, if the soul understands not by the senses, then it has no understanding.

It is next taught, that, according to the foregoing principle [that the Perceptive Organs are actuated by the soul], souls themselves are actuated by God.

2. Thou [who deniest this] hast forgotten the doctrine of the *Vētham*, that the world exists and moves on in the presence of God, Himself being unmoved. Souls, which hold to God as their guide, who has said: I will make known things [or cause them to be known and felt], according to the *kanmam* of souls, will see and understand the objects which come before them, in accordance with their respective *kanmam*. Consider that Sivan, who has the whole world as his form, the various *yōni*-moulds, matrices, as his members, and the *Ichchā*-, *Gnānā*-, and *Kiriyā-Satti* as his *Antakaramam* [or instrumental causes], is the God who actuates souls. Yet he never recognizes any of these instruments individually.

It is here shown, that the world does not appear to God [as a matter of importance], and that it cannot exist permanently, like a spiritual being, because it is material.

Here is the proposition that the soul in the Perceptive Organs understands things as it is acted upon by God, and also the reason why it is so, in that the soul must know and experience things in accordance with the law of its *kanmam* [and this, it is maintained, none but God can understand and regulate].

Next is explained the sense in which God and the world exist as *attuvilham*; also, the manner in which souls are obscured by *Tirōtha-Satti* (திரோதசத்தி), the Concealing Satti, of God, and yet are not destroyed; and, also, the sense in which *tirōtham* (திரோதம்), the work of concealment or obscuration, is called grace.

3. As stars, which exist distinct from the sun, fade away at the approach of sunlight, so that they appear not; so is it with souls, which are concealed by the *Tirōtha-Satti* of the God who seeks [in this process] their *mutti*, final deliverance. They are thus enabled to say: we have experienced the good and evil of all the objects of sense; and, by this course of experience, they also become united as one with God [enveloped in His glory], who is sometimes seen and sometimes concealed. Inquire and know this.

The proposition, that, if the soul eats the fruit of its *kanmam* by the instrumentality of the Perceptive Organs, and under the operation of *Tirōtha-Satti*, then her [*Satti's*] proper form will shine forth [as the garb of the soul], is supported by the analogy of the sun and the stars.

The next stanza treats of the entanglement of the soul in *pāsam*, and its liberation from it; and of the fact that *tirōtham* is properly called *arul*, grace.

4. Does God exercise no grace except in obscuring souls, and in causing them to eat their *kanmam*, the fruit of their own doings? He exercises grace in balancing the *kanmam* [and thus cancelling them]. Are *Tirōtha-Satti* and *Arul-Satti* two distinct *Satti*? *Tirōtha-Satti* is *Arul-Satti* [i. e. they are different forms or developments of the same thing]. When was *Arul-Satti* produced to God? She is coëxistent with Deity. *Arul-Satti* never exists dissociated from God; and God has never, from eternity, existed without *Arul-Satti*. As the sun, which disperses darkness by its own light, is to the natural eye, so is God to the vision of those who have passed from the influence of *Tirōtha-Satti*, and embraced *Arul-Satti* as their deliverer.

The proposition, that Sivan will reveal himself by the light of *Arul*, is supported by the analogy of the sun and its own light.

VI.

SIXTH SŪTTIRAM.

Respecting the Distinctive Natures of Deity, which is sattu, truth, and of the World, which is asattu, untruth.

SŪTTIRAM.—Every thing which can be known, is *asattu* (அசத்து), untruth; and whatever cannot be known, is *sūniyam* (சூனியம்), a non-entity. Therefore, what is not included in these two expressions, is *Sivam*, Deity, which is *sattu* (சத்து) truth. The established world declares this.

UREI.—How is it, that all which may be known by *arivu*, the understanding, can be called a lie? It is so, on the ground that all such things are developed, exist for a while, and are destroyed.

How is it, that what is not known is said to have no existence? It is the same as when we speak of a rope made of tortoise-hair, or of flowers in the air, or of a hare's horn.

COMMENTARY.

To such as think that they are *sattu*, which is *Sivam*, it is shown, that they are not that *sattu*.

1. Hear thou who knowest not that an untruth is a lie. All those things which may be known by the understanding, and designated as this or that, are false. Dost thou [the soul] who art not that lie, and who hast seen the truth, inquire respecting the lie which thus exists? If thou considerest the way in which letters written in water, perish as soon as written; if thou dost consider how the apparent realities which exist in a dream, vanish when one awakes; and if thou hast noticed how the mirage, which is seen as water, disappears as one comes up to test it—then thou hast in these things an illustration of the manner in which all visible [or known] things are declared to be lies.

The proposition, that the world is a lie, is supported by the analogies of the writing in water, the circumstances of a dream, and the mirage.

What is not included in the two [the known and the unknown], is the divine *sattu*, truth. God cannot be comprehended by the understanding of the soul, but is to be known by the help of *Arul*.

2. What is the force of the expression, that God is neither that which may be proved and known, nor that which cannot be known? If you mean by this, to ask, whether that being exists, or does not exist, he who has seen truth, has said, considerately, that he exists. But if you mean to say, that his existence may be proved and known by the soul's understanding, he would become [by this supposition] a lie, something different from himself [i. e. he would be misapprehended]. Therefore, as *Sivan* is beyond the reach of thought and speech, *Sivam* must be that truth [or real entity] which cannot be known by the soul's unaided wisdom, but is to be known by the help of *Arul*. What is that *Arul*? It is the divine foot of *Sivan*.

NOTE.—*Arul* is here used in the sense of *Arul-Satti*, the goddess of grace. She is the source of grace, or illumination, to souls. She shines graciously on all who approach the foot of *Sivan*, or humbly worship him. Hence, she is styled "the divine foot."

The same subject is continued in the next stanza.

3. All things which may be known [by human reason], will perish; hence, they are called a lie. Therefore, that one thing which cannot be known, is *Sivam*, Deity. If this

be so, then thou [the soul] who art qualified to know that one thing, and receive the benefit of it, art yet ignorant of it. Consequently, if thou thinkest it can be ascertained by reason, thine apprehension of it will make it a very different thing from what it really is. For he who has seen the truth [Deity], by the aid of the gracious look of *Sat-Kuru* (சத்குரு), the True Guru, will understand [Deity] by the grace [*Arul*] of Sivan. Therefore, when one gets a vision of Sivan, he will not see him standing alone, as something quite distinct [from the soul], but he will see him as inseparably connected [with himself].

The same subject continued.

4. In meditating on Sivan [with a view to get a vision of him], whenever the disciple contemplates him under certain imagined forms, he will not discover his true form. When one meditates, saying [in his mind]: this meditation surpasses [the prescribed] meditations, even that is one of the meditations. If one meditates, saying that there is nothing which he should picture to himself in his meditation [i. e. that there is nothing to be seen], his meditation will be fruitless—all his fancied happiness in *mutti*, final liberation, will be vain. If one, in performing any meditation, is enabled to say that that meditation [i. e. the object which he contemplates in it], is he [Sivan], it will be a proper meditation on him. Therefore, to meditate, through the *Arul* [*Satti*] of Sivan, is the chief thing; all else is vain.

The same subject continued.

5. Because Sivan stands as the *arivu* of the soul, he cannot appear as a distinct being to the apprehension [of the soul]. When he comes to be known thus [as connected with the soul], he will not be known by the soul's *arivu*. What is the reason that he cannot be thus known? It is because he exists as the life of the soul [i. e. as its spiritual life and vision]. On the same principle on which the eye cannot see and point out the soul, which stands as the life of the eye, and gives it the power of vision, the soul cannot understand Sivan, who has become the source of *gnānam*, spiritual understanding, to the soul; nor can it discriminate and point out the evil which is prescribed for it. Hence it

is manifest, that the soul is made to understand by the help of *Arul*.

The proposition, that Sivan stands not as a stranger [or one dissociated], but as the life of the soul, and causes it to understand, is supported by the analogy of the eye.

The same subject continued.

6. Since, therefore, Sivan does not stand out as one dissociated from the soul, he is not a being who can be seen and pointed out as this or that. If, then, he thus exists as something not distinguishable from the soul, is it wrong to say that Sivan and the soul are one? That is not the meaning, they are essentially distinct. Since there is an *arivu* capable of apprehending things, and saying: this is it, etc., therefore, when it is said: one exists, he who says it, must also exist. Hence, that which discriminates, saying: this is it, etc., does not exist as two, to the apprehension of the soul. Who, then, is Sivan? He who stands in the soul, and who possesses the *arivu* that knows all things, is Sivan.

There are some who interpret the expression: who stands in the soul, etc., to mean that the soul, which understands by the *arivu* of Sivan, becomes also *Sivam*. But, as there is one who shows things, and one who sees, so that which knows, is the soul, and he who makes known, is Sivan. Thou [soul] art not Sivan. It is only because thou art deluded, by the circumstance that he does not appear entirely dissociated from thyself, that thou art led to say: I am that *Sivam*.

VII.

SEVENTH SÜTTIRAM.

Continuation of the Subject respecting Pathi, Pasu and Pâsam, Deity, Soul and Matter.

SÜTTIRAM.—In the presence of Sivan, who is *sattu*, truth, all things are false [or as nothing]. Because the universe perishes, and becomes a lie, therefore, Sivan will not know [or regard] it. The world, being itself material and perishable, knows nothing. There is an *arivu*, understanding, which can distinguish and understand both *sattu*, which is eternal, and *asattu*, which is not eternal. That [understanding] which is neither *sattu*, nor *asattu*, is the soul.

UREI.—Hence, the soul may be styled *sath'-asattu* (சத்சத்து), both truth and untruth.

How does *Isuran* [=Sivan], God, manage the affairs of the world? As in jugglery, which is not for the exhibitor, but for the spectators, so he [Sivan] recognizes no profit in the universe, and is, therefore, said to know it not.

COMMENTARY.

It is here shown, that he who fancies himself to be *Sivam*, which is truth, is not that.

1. So far as the soul does not exist as a stranger to Sivan [dissociated from him], they are not two distinct beings, but one. If all things are *Sivam* [i. e. mere developments from Deity], then there cannot exist the two distinctions, viz: a being to be known, and one to know. If thou sayest that Sivan himself, who exists inseparably united [with the soul], is the one who understands, by the help of *asattu* [=material organs], I answer, Sivan, standing distinct, could not see [or understand] *asattu*. For, the senseless *asattu* cannot exist in the presence of Sivan, just as darkness cannot stand before the sun [i. e. he is no more dependent on *asattu*, than the sun on darkness].

He who would know, must learn whatever he knows from a teacher [but, as implied, Sivan needs not to learn].

The proposition, that *asattu* cannot stand before *sattu*, Deity, is supported by the analogy of darkness before the sun.

The assertion, that *asattu* may have intelligence, is next refuted.

2. As the mirage seems to the ignorant to be water, but proves to be a lie, when one approaches and examines it; so, when there are none who, by the help of *Arul*, can understand *asattu*, it will appear to be true and profitable. Because this *asattu* has no *arivu*, it can neither see nor understand any thing. Therefore, examine and see that *asattu* has no intelligence.

The propositions, that the world is a lie; that it is void of intelligence; that, until one comes to view it in the light of *Arul*, it will appear a truth, but, when seen by the help of *Arul*, will become a lie, are supported by the analogy of the mirage.

The next stanza treats of the nature of the soul, in reference to those who think that they are *Sivam*, which is *sattu*.

8. The following is what *Paramēsuran* (பரமேசுரன்), God, taught to [his *Satti*] *Īsupari* (ஈசுபரி). That which understands *sattu*, which is spiritual, and *asattu*, which is corporeal, is the soul. Now the soul is not *sattu*, which is spiritual, nor *asattu*, which is corporeal; nor is it the result of the union of the spiritual and the corporeal. When undeveloped, it exists not like the spiritual; and when developed, it does not exist like the corporeal. But it exists united with both. How is the soul manifested? It is manifested [or developed in union with *sattu* and *asattu*], just as the fragrance of the lotus exists, pervading the flower. By its union with *sattu*, it becomes [or appears as] *sattu*; and by its union with *asattu*, it becomes *asattu*. Therefore, the soul is styled *sath'-asattu*, both *sattu* and *asattu*.

As there is no fragrance without the flower, so the soul cannot appear [or become manifest] alone. As the fragrance exists as the natural property of the flower, so the soul exists as the natural property [or inhabitant] of the body.

The proposition, that the soul cannot exist alone, is supported by the analogy of the fragrance and the flower.

The next stanza replies to those who ask how the soul can be *sath'-asattu*, and yet neither *sattu* nor *asattu*.

4. When disease attacks one, he becomes deranged, but, by the application of appropriate medicine, his mind becomes clear; therefore, thou who possessest a changeful understanding, canst not be that *sattu* [unchanging Deity]. Then, is not the soul *asattu* [meaning, here, the soul's organism]? No, it is not *asattu*. For that *asattu*, without thee [soul], can neither know, nor experience, the proper fruits of thy good and evil deeds, which thou hast known by thine understanding, hast performed, and hast gathered [for future use]. Therefore, thou art neither *sattu* nor *asattu*, but *sath'-asattu*.

One sometimes loses his reason by excessive hunger; but on eating he regains his usual understanding. God is a being who possesses an unchangeable understanding; and, since thou art one who possessest a changeful understanding, thou art not God.

The same subject continued.

5. *Agngnānam* (அஞ்ஞானம்) [= (பாசஞ்ஞானம்) *pāsa-gnānam*, organic understanding, or the perceptive power of the *Tat-tuvam*] cannot be developed in possession of the *gnānam* of Sivan, who is *sattu*. Because this *agngnānam* is a lie, and is corporeal [an organism from *māyei*], it cannot be a development from *Sivam*. But this *pāsa-gnānam* is developed in possession of *pasu-gnānam* (பசுஞ்ஞானம்), the natural understanding of the soul. When does the pure understanding of Sivan exist? It exists from eternity, coëxistent with Deity, like the cool sea, the water, and the salt. How long has *pasu-gnānam* existed? This, also, is eternal, coëtanous with the soul.

This illustration may be thus given: the water is coëtanous with the sea, and the salt with the water; so, soul is coëtanous with Deity, and *pāsam* [the primordial envelope of the soul] is eternally coëxistent with the soul. Here, the sea represents Deity; the water, the soul; and the salt, *pāsam*.

As salt cannot exist in the sea except in union with the water, so *pāsa-gnānam* has no connection with *Siva-gnānam*, except as it stands connected with *pasu-gnānam*.

The proposition, that *pāsam* has no connection with Deity except as it comes in connection with the soul, is supported by the analogy of the sea, the water, and the salt.

VIII.

EIGHTH SŪTTIRAM.

The Way in which Souls obtain Wisdom.

SŪTTIRAM.—When God, who operates within as thy life, comes as a Guru, and teaches thee that thou hast forgotten thy real nature, having been brought up with the hunters, the five Perceptive Organs, and explains [to thee] the three stages which thou hast performed in a previous birth, viz: *sarithei*, *śirikei*, and *yōkam*, and causes *gnānam* to spring forth—when he comes in kindness to instruct thee, then thou [soul], having left thy former state of darkness, and escaped from *tirōtham*, and, in the form of *gnānam*, passed into union with *Arul*, wilt exist forever in perfect union with God.

COMMENTARY.

God, as a Guru, gives instruction in *tavam* (தவம்), ascetic duties.

1. Let those who have always performed the *tavam*, ascetic duties [i. e. those who have regularly gone through the three stages] of *sarithei*, *kirikei*, and *yōkam*, and who have enjoyed the three subordinate states of bliss [the three lower heavens], viz: *sālōkam*, *sāmīpam*, and *sārūpam*, which are the rewards, respectively, of the three stages which they have passed through—let them utterly renounce whatever they have attained in those states of bliss; and then shall they be born [on earth] in those desired conditions which their respective courses of penance deserve, and shall obtain *Siva-gnānam*. Such is the firm decision of those who have studied the *Vētham* and the *Ākamam*, after having duly examined the matter.

The possession of the pleasures of the lower heavens, obtained by the performance of sacrifice and other ceremonies, is not *mutti*, final liberation and beatitude. *Mutti* is obtained, when the two *vinei* (இருவினை), courses of good and evil acts, have been completed, and their fruits eaten.

2. As with one who eats when he is hungry, and is for a short time satisfied, and then becomes hungry again, such is the case of one who, by the performance of *yōkam* (இயாகம்), sacrifice and other ceremonies, imposed by *kanmam*, obtains the pleasures of *sālōkam*, etc. He must return to this world, where he may become possessed of the wisdom which he before barely approached, when he had dissipated his native ignorance by means of the penance he performed in former births. This is the point where the merit and demerit of his former deeds, which adhere to him, are balanced, so that they can be cancelled at once. Hence, one must secure liberation by first attaining to the stage of *gnānam*.

NOTE.—The fourth and last stage of Hindū religious life is called *gnānam*. It is here that *Siva-gnānam*, divine wisdom, is attained. The soul is supposed to have reached, in some former birth, the borders of this stage. Hence, after having ascended to some of the upper regions, to enjoy what it has earned, or to eat the fruit of its good deeds, it again returns to earth, where alone merit can be secured, to resume that course in which alone it can obtain true

wisdom, and, at last, complete liberation from the bondage of the Tattuvam. The cancelling of the *kanmam*, the balancing of good and evil deeds, the eating of the fruit of the two *vinei*, and the like, involve the principle that all the demerit of evil deeds must be suffered, and all the merit of good deeds be enjoyed, and that, in accordance with this, one's course of life and action is determined by his previous course, which constitutes a part of the "eating the fruit of former acts." A specific evil is never cancelled by being counter-balanced by a greater good. The fruit of that evil must be eaten, and also that of the greater good. The two *vinei*, the two courses of action, must be run through.

The next stanza shows how God instructs the three classes of souls, which are denominated *Vigngnānakalar*, *Pirālayākalar*, and *Sakalar*.

NOTE.—The *Vigngnānakalar* are those enlightened souls which remain under the influence of only *āṇava-malam*. Such have risen above the influence of their senses, indeed of their whole material organism, which they still inhabit, and have satisfied the demands of *kanmam*, or have eaten the fruit of all their own proper acts. Only their original sin, or that source of evil which was always attached to the soul, called *āṇava-malam*, still adheres to them.

The *Pirālayākalar* are such as are still under the influence of two *malam*, *āṇavam* and *kanmam*. They have advanced far in the system; and have risen above the influence of their senses and other organs. They have escaped from *māyei*, or *māyā-malam*, the source of those organs.

The *Sakalar* are souls which are still entangled in the three *malam*, *āṇavam*, *māyei* and *kanmam*. Yet these may have entered the proper way of life, and may, therefore, receive divine instruction.

3. Whenever the *Vigngnānakalar* come to understand God who exists within, and gives intelligence to them, having arrived at the position which is suited to the removal of the obscuring power of *pāsam*, true wisdom will spontaneously spring up to them. To the *Pirālayākalar*, which are yet entangled in *āṇavam* and *kanmam*, God Himself will come as *Tēva-Kuru* (தேவகுரு), the Divine Guru, and will stand within them, and instruct them. To the *Sakalar*, which are united with their three *malam*, *āṇavam*, *māyei* and *kanmam*, and which are destitute of true wisdom, God will come in the form of a *mānisha-kuru* (மனிஷகுரு), human Guru, and will establish them in *sarithei*, *kirikei*, and *yōkam*, and will afterwards bring them into true wisdom [or establish them in the stage of *gnānam*].

The next teaches that no other books than the *Vētham* and *Ākamam*, are true *Sāstiram*.

4. Souls understand nothing except as they are made to know; for the deeds they have formerly done, will afterwards flow on and enshroud them [in ignorance]. But those who reject the irregular *Sāstiram* as no *Sāstiram*, and embrace and understand the *Vētham* and *Ākamam*, as the true *Sāstiram*, which were given by *Sakanāthan* (சகநாதன்), the Universal Lord, who is full of grace, shall attain *mutti*, liberation, in the bodies they then possess.

The fifth stanza teaches that the form of the *Tēva-Kuru* is not one developed from *māyei*, like the human body, nor a *mantira-tēki* (மந்திரதேகி), form constituted a divine abode by means of *mantiram* [like an idol].

5. Who could know Sivan existing in his own invisible, spiritual nature, were he not to reveal himself in his three forms? God, thus known, is like the breast-milk which is as yet unsecreted [or apparently non-existent], and like the tears of those who wear jewels [young females], and like one's image which he sees reflected in the water.

God appears in the form of *gnānam*, in the case of the *Vigngnānakalar*, just as the blood is developed [or transformed] into breast-milk.

The case of tears [not as yet manifest in the eyes of those who wear jewels] which are called forth by love and beauty, illustrates the case when God, taking the form of *gnānam*, stands as the *Tēva-Kuru* before the *Pīraḷayākalar*.

The image in the water represents the case of God's coming to the *Sakalar* [as a Guru] in a divine body, formed like their own.

The proposition, that one may see Sivan as an embodied being, though a spirit, is supported by the analogies of the breast-milk, the tears, and the image in the water.

The next stanza refers to the excellency of the course of instruction in *gnānam*, and to the soul's entanglement and liberation.

6. He who has seen the truth, having discriminated what is false, who regards the Perceptive Organs, which are false, transitory, and diverse in their functions, as something different from the soul's own proper form [or permanent habili-

ments], and who considers and understands the way in which the soul exhibits the several forms [or functions] of the Perceptive Organs, just as the *padikam* (படிகம்) [lit. crystal], prism, shows the five radical colors—he, being distinct from these organs, will become a *tēvam* (தேவம்), god, a servant to Sivan who is truth.

The soul does not operate through the Perceptive Organs, except in connection with Sivan.

The doctrine, that the proper form of the soul is not that of the Perceptive Organs, and the reason of the difference, which is, that those organs are *asattu*, false and transitory, are set forth in the figure of the prism and the five colors.

He who has seen that he is something different from these organs, will no longer exist as *pasu-karaṇam* (பசுகரணம்), a mere soul, but will exist as *Siva-karaṇam* (சிவகரணம்), one possessing the intelligence of Sivan; and at death will be established at the divine foot.

7. The soul, which has been like a flood of water dammed up, having come to understand, by the proper means of knowing, the Perceptive Organs which have confined it, and escaping from them, will not be born again; but, like the river which has broken through its embankments, and passed into the billowy ocean, it will become united with the sacred foot of the incorruptible Sivan.

Were the river, which has passed into the ocean, again to return to its bed, it would be salt water; just so, were the liberated soul to be re-united with the Perceptive Organs, it would not be, as before, *pasu-karaṇam*, but *Siva-karaṇam*, one possessed of divine intelligence.

The proposition, that the soul, freed from the Perceptive Organs, will be forever united with Sivan, is supported by the analogy of the river-water which has passed into the ocean.

Explanation of the way in which souls unite with Sivan.

8. If Sivan constitutes all forms [or organic beings], then there can be no other eternal being to be associated with him. If he exists dissociated from all forms, then he even ceases to be God, becoming now an inhabitant of one place, and then of another. Therefore, he is the all-pervading. Should we not, then, see God? The other members of the

body, unlike the eye which sees all forms, can see nothing ; so, it is not those who possess the eye of the mind, who can see [God], but those who have the eye of *gnānam*. As the eye has no power of vision when covered by a film, but, as soon as the film is removed, can see ; so, when he shows his sacred foot [when *Arul-Satti* shines], then it [the eye of *gnānam*] can see him.

Though the *malam*, which adhered to the soul previous to one's instruction in *gnānam*, should again return, and cleave to it, still, since they were once removed by instruction in *gnānam*, and were again united [with the soul], there is profit in it. •

9. Sivan, who, unperceived by thee, stands as life to the soul, and shows it favor, will make thee see that thou art not one of the Perceptive Organs, but something different. While he thus instructs [the soul], one does not leave the five Perceptive Organs, and become united with Sivan. Neither does one immediately leave these organs, on having eaten and exhausted his *pirāratta-kanmam*, stock of acquired merit and demerit. As moss, floating on water, when a stone is thrown in, will be separated [for a while], so *āṇavam* and *kanmam* will leave thee. Do thou, therefore, consider the way in which that which so darkens the soul, leaves and returns ; and be thou freed from it all by Sivan, who will never leave thee. When one becomes associated with the sacred *Arul* of Sivan, *āṇavam*, *māyei* and *kanmam* leave him ; but when he is removed from *Arul*, those *malam* return, and attach themselves to him.

This position is supported by the analogy of the water and the moss. When a stone is thrown into a tank covered with moss, the moss is separated, but immediately comes together again on the waters becoming quiet.

IX.

NINTH SŪTTIRAM.

The Purification of the Soul, or the Manner in which the Soul is freed, by the Eye of Gnānam, from the Process of Eating the Fruits of Kanmam.

SŪTTIRAM.—To stand and see, by the divine *Arul*, Sivan, who can be known neither by *pasu-gnānam*, the intellect of

the soul, nor by *pāsa-gñānam*, the understanding had through the corporeal organs, is the desired position. Therefore, search, by the eye of wisdom, into the way in which God stands in thee. When one, thus searching for God, is liberated, saying that *pāsam* is like the devil-car [mirage] which moves so swiftly that one cannot ascend it, then Sivan will be as a cool shade to him who has wandered in the burning sun. [This will be experienced] when he has pronounced, as directed, the celebrated *pañcākkaram*, five-lettered formula.

COMMENTARY.

Since one cannot know himself except through *Siva-gñānam*, and since Sivan transcends the reach of thought and speech, so that he cannot be known except by the aid of his own *gñānam* [= *Arul*], therefore, one must first become pure [liberated], by a vision of Sivan, through *Siva-gñānam*, and then he can see himself also.

1. When one examines the several parts of his organism, which he has hitherto considered to be himself, such as bones, nerves, pus, phlegm, etc., he cannot determine which of them he is. If one examines in a discriminating way, and yet neither sees Sivan by the aid of his *Arul*, nor knows himself, what thing can he know to be real or useful?

Hence, he will learn to say that this is vain and useless. Therefore, God transcends the reach of thought and speech.

Since one, without the *gñānam* of Sivan, cannot properly understand any thing, either by *pāsa-gñānam*, or *pasu-gñānam*, perception, or reasoning, therefore, when the soul comes to understand by the aid of *Siva-gñānam*, it will exist in the form of *gñānam*, and be pure [or freed from its organic entanglements].

2. The eye, which points out all things, cannot see itself, nor can it see the soul which enables it to see. And the soul, which enables the eye to see, cannot see itself, nor Sivan who stands showing things to the soul. He stands concealed, as a thief, while the soul is trying to see itself by its own powers. Therefore, examine into the way in which he thus exists in thee.

When the soul becomes freed from its three *malam*, *ānavam*, *māyeyi* and *kanmam*, it will then exist in its own proper form.

8. Will not Sivan, who is not subject to the three *kūṇam*, viz: *rāsatham*, *tāmatham* and *sāttuvikam*, nor to the three *malam*, who ever exists in his own imperishable form of happiness, and who is incomparably superior to all other beings—will not he come as the *arivu*, understanding, of the soul, which, wonderful to say, will never leave it, and, in a manner far transcending the rules of logic, reveal himself? He will thus reveal himself. Then the soul will be free from the control of all the Tattuvam.

Some ask how it is that the soul, when it assumes *Siva-Rūpam*, Sivan's Proper Form, can appear as Sivan, without becoming *Sivam*? Though the soul is developed in the form of truth [Deity] yet it does not possess either the wisdom or the power of Deity.

4. When thou comest to know that every thing which can be pointed out and known as this, etc., is a lie, then thou wilt immediately understand that whatever else now exists, is *Sivam*, which is truth. Thou who art designated by the expression: this is he, art not that *Sivam*, though thou art united with *Siva-Rūpam*, hast become pure, hast learned that *asattu* is *asattu* [material organism], and art freed from its influence. Therefore, become a servant [a *tēvam*] to Sivan, bear his likeness, and, by his *Arul*, stand free from *asattu*. This is what is meant by being freed from *asattu* [the entanglement of one's organism], and assuming one's proper form.

When the soul comes into the possession of *Siva-Rūpam*, and becomes a pure one, the [original] nature of the soul no longer exists.

5. The way in which one renounces all visible things, saying: not these, not those, and takes the form of Sivan who shows [these things]; and one who searches out and knows God who pervades all worlds, and operates in the soul—the way in which, by the help of the good Guru, it [the soul] escapes from the three *malam* which have adhered to it from eternity—this way is like that of the snake-charmer, who, by the power of his meditation, assumes the form of *karudan* (கருடன்), and removes the poison from the bite of a snake. In this case, the disciple may consider that he himself is he [Sivan].

When the disciple attains *Siva-Rūpam*, his *malam* lose their hold upon him.

This proposition is illustrated by the statement that the poison of the snake-bite will be removed when the operator, by his meditations, has attained the form of *karuḍan*.

NOTE.—*Karuḍan* is the eagle-form vehicle of Viṣṇu, and is considered as the sovereign of the feathered race, and the destroyer of serpents. To assume, spiritually, the form of *karuḍan*, and thus be able to control the venom of serpents, is considered to be one of the most difficult attainments of the wonder-working *mantira*-practitioners.

Respecting the *pañchāṅkaram*. The soul takes the form of whatever it meditates on; therefore, when, by the use of the *pañchāṅkaram*, it meditates on *Sivam*, it comes to possess its form.

6. When one understands the way in which the soul becomes the servant of Sivan, by means of the *pañchāṅkaram* [how to worship Sivan in the use of the five mystic letters]; when, by the same letters, he performs *pūsei* (பூசை) [*pūjā*], in the region of the heart, to Sivan who is within him; when he performs, by those letters, *Ōnam* (ஓம்), burnt-offering, in *mūlāthāram*, the lower part of the abdomen; and when he obtains *gnānam*, and exists between the eyebrows—then the soul becomes *Siva-gnāna-sorūpi* (சிவஞானசொருபி), one embodied in the *gnānam* of Sivan, and there ever remains his servant.

The proposition, that, when the soul comes thus to understand the nature of the *pañchāṅkaram*, the world which is destitute of *gnānam*, will cease to live [or will no longer affect the soul], is supported by tradition.

Unless the soul gets such a view of Sivan as to enable it clearly to understand him, it will not become liberated.

7. If one sees Sivan in himself, just as he may see the invisible *Rāku* (இராகு) and *Kēthu* (கேது) [eclipsing planets = the nodes] in the sun and moon when eclipsed, that Sivan will become the soul's eye; that is, when the soul sees Sivan, his *Arul* stands as the eye, and sees [enables the soul to see]. The way in which Sivan stands as if he were not different from the soul, and yet manifests himself, is like fire appearing from the wood in which it was latent. When

the wood is rubbed, the fire, which was previously in it, will appear; so Sivan will appear to the soul, without being separated from it. When God is thus manifested, the soul will be [to Deity] like iron in the fire, when the common nature [or appearance] of the iron has departed, and it has assumed the form [appearance] of the fire. Then the soul is subject to God, just as the iron is to the fire in which it has been placed. If thou repeatest the *pañchâkkaram*, thou shalt be thus united with Sivan. Therefore, unceasingly pronounce the five letters.

The proposition, that if one thus pronounces the five letters, he shall see Sivan, is supported by the analogy of *Râku* and *Kēthu*, seen in the sun and moon.

The proposition, that Deity exists in the soul, undistinguishable, is supported by the analogy of the wood and the fire.

The proposition, that the soul may become united with Sivan, and exist in his likeness, is established by the analogy of the iron in the fire.

If one offers the invisible [spiritual] *pūjâ* in the lotus-flower of his heart, he will be freed [from his bondage], and take the form of *gnânam* [be embodied in *gnânam*].

8. The hollow stalk to this flower of the heart is eight fingers' breadth [six inches] in length, rising from the navel, and is composed of thirty-one Tattuvam, viz: those from *piruthuvi* to *māyei*. *Māyei* is the receptacle of the flower. *Sutta-Vittei* [*Ruttiran*, the first of the *Siva-Tattuvam*] is the flower, having eight letters as petals. The form for these is composed of the following *kalei*, viz: *nivirti*, *pirathittēi*, and *vittei*. In the seed, at the top of this lotus-flower, are two *Siva-Tattuvam*, viz: *Sathāsivan* and *Mayēsuran*, who have, respectively, the forms of two *kalei*, namely, *sânti* and *sântiyâ-thūthēi*. The part next above is the proper form of *Nātham*; and in *Nātham* is *Vintu-Satti*. Sivan, who is in the form of *gnânam*, remains firm in *Vintu-Satti*. Do thou, therefore, meditate on him thus situated within, and be united with him.

As there is here given specific direction to perform internal *pūsei*, it is inferred, according to the rule of exception, that one may also perform external *pūsei*, if desired. Hence, the two kinds of *pūsei* are desirable.

NOTE.—This fanciful representation of a portion of the human organism by the lotus-flower, springing from the navel, and blossoming in the heart and higher regions of the body, is very common in India, though variously exhibited. The terms here used, and the whole figure, will be readily understood, by reference to the *Tattva-Kattalai*, the preceding article in this volume.

X.

TENTH SŪTTIRAM.

Respecting the Way of removing the Three Malam, viz:
Āṇavam, Māyei and Kanman.

SŪTTIRAM.—Sivan exists in the soul, as if he were the soul itself; so the soul may exist, as it were, one with Sivan. Then it will see how it is, that all which it before called its own action, becomes Sivan's action. Then *āṇava-malam*, *māyā-malam*, and the irresistible *kanmam* which produces fruit to be eaten, will cease to be [or cease to exert any influence on the soul].

UREI.—When the soul comes to be as one with Sivan, to walk in his ways, and to cease to say: I have done it, others have done it, etc., then *Arul-Satti* will be its support.

COMMENTARY.

While the common understanding of the soul continues to live [operate], it is never exempt from the influence of the *malam*; and while it thus lives, the soul itself must live in the form of the several *malam* [or in their garb]. It is, therefore, necessary that the soul leave its native understanding, and take the form of Sivan.

1. Those who are prompted to say: I have done this to one, and he has done this to me, etc., are still in possession of their common native understanding, which is adapted to investigation. Therefore, when one comes to the position in which he ceases to say: I am chief, then Sivan will exist in that soul, as if he were the soul itself. Those who are each prepared to say: there is nothing which I can ascribe to myself, but all things are the work of Sivan—all those who are thus under the influence of *Siva-gnānam*, Sivan will bring to his sacred foot; and he will stand so united with each soul, that the common understanding of the soul will cease to

exist, and he will claim that all the operations of the soul are his, and that whatever is done to the soul, is done to him.

The *kanmam* will not continue to rise upon those who are prepared to say: even the Perceptive Organs are not ours, and: we are not our own, and: our own acts were performed by Sivan.

2. Stand firm, and say: the Perceptive Organs are not myself; the going forth of these organs to the objects of sense, is not my action; I have no property in myself, I am the servant of Sivan. Do thou, also, say that Sivan is united with whatever body thou assumest; and that all which thou doest, is done by Sivan. He will then give thee the fruits of thy former deeds; but those *malam* shall not afterwards rise upon thee.

Sivan is not partial; there is no action but what he affects, and, through him, *kanmam* will cease to arise upon the soul.

3. It is God's prerogative, to encourage and save those who resort to Him; therefore, He will surely save such as come to Him; and, while He will not save those who do not resort to Him, yet He bears no ill-will towards them. These servants who resort to Him, He will clothe in His own image; but others who do not come to Him, He will cause to eat of their own doings. Therefore, those who faithfully examine into this matter, shall not be re-visited with their former *kanmam*.

The *sanchilham*, process of gathering merit and demerit for future eating, will be stopped by the proper course in *gnānam*. *Pirārattam*, the *kanmam* already accumulated, must be eaten. *Ākāṇṇyam*, the sowing for a future crop of good and evil, will not take place with the *Gnānis* [those who have attained to the stage of *gnānam*].

4. If one weighs, and puts into a vessel, a certain quantity of asafoetida, and then removes exactly the same quantity by weight, the smell of it will still remain in the vessel; such is *pirārattam*, the lingering results, to be experienced, of the former deeds of the *Gnāni*. These results attach themselves to the body which he inhabits. He cannot avoid these fruits of his own doings, he must eat them. Though this be so, yet the *Gnāni* will not again be so entangled as to be sub-

ject to any influence consequent on his present course, as he was before, when he received according to his former doings, and had a body adapted to such experience. For such a *Gnāni* has come into the very form [or image] of Sivan, and, therefore, understands as one possessing *Siva-karaṇam*, the nature of Sivan.

Men of wisdom will not be entangled in the objects of sense, nor infatuated by them.

5. They who examine and understand *Pathi*, *Pasu* and *Pāsam*, and who think that there is no shade [no consolation for the soul] except the shade of the sacred foot of Sivan, though they take notice of the objects of sense, yet are not infatuated by them, nor disturbed in their spiritual heroism; and they never leave that sacred foot.

NOTE.—Such persons are above the world, unaffected by the circumstances around them. They are compared to Rishis, who, “though they sit in fire, yet have the power of resisting its influence, so that they are not burned by it.” And, “like the horseman who drives his well-trained horse, they pass on undisturbed in their spiritual heroism”—their high devotions.

Māyei and *kaṇmam* will have no influence over *Gnānis*.

6. Those who can discriminate, and say: this is the nature of *sattu*, truth [Deity], and this, the nature of *asattu*, untruth [material things], and who do not estimate things by their native understanding, but by the wisdom of Sivan—they will no longer relish any thing proceeding from the influence of *ānava-malam*, they will cease to feel the influence of *māyei* [=bodily organs developed from *māyei*], which will recede, just as darkness flees before the rising sun. They will be always united with Sivan, and ever exist in his form.

As darkness cannot stand before the sun, and as the lamp shines not in its presence, so *ānava-malam* will disappear from the *Gnāni*, and *māyei* will cease to influence him.

The proposition, that *pāsam* [= the three *malam*] will not affect one who stands in *gnānam*, is established by the analogy of darkness fleeing before the sun.

The proposition, that, when *gnānam* is withdrawn, then *pāsam* will rise in its influence, is confirmed by the analogy of darkness rising on the departure of the sun.

XI.

ELEVENTH SŪTTIRAM.

The Way in which the Soul unites with the Foot of Deity.

SŪTTIRAM.—As the soul enables the eye, which has the power of sight, to see, so Sivan looks upon the soul, when it has escaped from the control of its body, and become pure, and shows himself to it. In this way he gives his sacred foot to the soul, so that it will never cease to love.

UREI.—As completely liberated souls, freed from the control of sense, and standing in *Arul* as their support, see [God]; so, if those who are still in the body, but have risen above the influence of the Perceptive Organs, take their stand in *Arul*, they will become free, living souls. Then they will know Sivan by experience, and become closely united with his sacred foot.

COMMENTARY.

The liberated soul and Sivan have the same form. Though they are inseparably united, yet the soul is the servant of Sivan; and, in their union, they constitute *attuvitham*, unity in duality.

1. The soul, which cannot apprehend all the five objects of sense at once, but perceives them as it comes in contact with them separately, can apprehend them at once by the help of Sivan, who stands, as it were, as the five Perceptive Organs. Therefore, that which apprehends the objects of sense one by one, is the soul. But Sivan sees and understands all things at once.

The same subject continued.

2. When the soul has become as one with Sivan, being united to his sacred foot, and understands as one [with him], it has pleasure; and when it sees and understands their oneness, which he [Sivan] shows, it has great pleasure. Then Sivan, who has become the *gnānam* [= *arivu*], understanding, the *gnāthuru* (ஞாநகரு), soul, and the *Gnēyam*, Deity [or, the seeing, the seer, and the thing seen], will show himself every where present, and in union with all souls. He will perceive the thoughts of all who think, by the eye of his *Arul*, with whom he is ever united.

The next stanza explains the mode of Sivan's existence, in reply to those who ask, whether, 'if Sivan fills all space, every one should not see him.

3. Though the sun should come and stand before the blind, yet they cannot see—it will be to them as the darkness of night. Just so Sivan stands unseen by those who are entangled in *pāsam*, though he fills all space. To those who show themselves worthy, and love him, Sivan will give the eye of *gnānam*, and by it remove the snares of *pāsam*, just as the sun opens the lotus-flower, when it is in a state to be thus affected.

How the *malam* are removed from the liberated soul.

4. As the moon, by its beams, dispels the thick darkness, so Deity, which has been from eternity connected with the soul, will, by its grace, its *Arul-Satti*, remove *āṇavam*, and the other *malam*. As the magnet attracts iron, and brings it under its control, so will Deity draw the soul, and bring it under its control. While so operating, Deity will have neither action nor passion.

In the state of bliss, no one of the three eternal entities will perish, but they will exist as before; yet they will exist without action—quiescent.

5. Did the soul perish [as an individual being] on taking Sivan's form, and becoming united with him, then there would be no eternal being to be associated with Deity. If it does not perish, but remains a dissociated being, then there will be no union with God. But the *malam* will cease to affect the soul; and then the soul, like the union of salt with water, will become united with Sivan as his servant, and exist at his feet as one with him.

The next stanza gives an explanation of the deliverance which is here attainable, and of that which is final.

6. The intensity of the sun's light is lost on its entering a cloud; but when it escapes from the cloud, the heat and light are everywhere felt again. Just so is it with the light of the soul's understanding: it is for a while obscured by the body which is formed from *māyei*; but as it accomplishes its *pirāratta-kanmam*, the eating of what it had previously sown and gathered, it escapes from the *malam* which had obscured it, and which it was compelled to eat, and eventually shines forth in union with Sivan.

XII.

TWELFTH SŪTTIRAM.

How Sivan, who surpasses the Powers of Thought and Speech, may be thought of, seen, and worshipped.

SŪTTIRAM.—Do thou thus remove the three *malam*, which prevent thee from uniting with the glorious strong foot, which is like the red lotus. Having so removed the three *malam*, join those who are the freed ones of Sivan, and, looking on the sacred bodies of those who have escaped from worldly delusion, and abound in love to Sivan, and also on Sivan's temples, as Sivan himself worship thou them.

COMMENTARY.

Gñānam cannot exist where the three *malam* are [or where they influence the soul]; therefore, the *malam* must be removed.

1. Do thou shake off these three, viz: *kanma-malam*, which adheres to thee under the form of merit and demerit; *mâyā-malam*, which [in the form of the Tattuvam] as *piruthuvi*, etc., obscures the soul, and causes it to receive a lie for the truth [or to be deluded with worldly matters]; and *āṇava-malam*, which makes the soul satisfied with those things which should be regarded as false. The true *Gñāni* cannot be in union with these three *malam*.

The soul takes the character of its associates, just as **any** thing brought into contact with powdered saffron, takes its color.

2. Those who are entangled in *pāsam*, and who are without *Aruḷ*, will make those who associate with them forget the truth, and cause them to fall under the influence of *malam*. But true *Gñānis*, who separate themselves, as far as possible, from such as are destitute of the beauty of *gñānam*, who associate with the devotees of Sivan, and who have the understanding of *Siva-gñānam*, will not experience further accumulation of *malam*.

Sivan shines in those who possess the divine form [the true *Gñānis*]; therefore, they should be worshipped as Sivan.

3. Sivan desires that all should know him, and gives his divine form to his pious ones, and graciously comes forth as the life of their souls, in order that they may understand every thing by him. Therefore, he reveals himself in his pious ones who know him, as ghee in curds. But in those who are entangled in *pāsam*, he remains unseen and unfelt, as ghee in milk.

The principle on which the sacred temples may be worshipped.

4. The *Siva-Lingam* is a *mantira-mūrttam* (மந்திரமூர்த்தம்), visible form composed of *mantiram*. Therefore, will not Sivan, who exists in all visible forms, and yet is different from them, appear in that form [*Siva-Lingam*] as his sacred body, just as fire, which exists everywhere diffused in wood, as if it were not different from it, will, when the wood is rubbed, become visible? He will thus appear to the *Gnāni* who stands in Sivan's form, and sees him.

Respecting the performance of *pūsei* [worship] to Sivan.

5. He is not the body, etc., which are things that are distinguished and set aside, by saying: this is not he, that is not he; nor is he the soul, which is distinguished from the body, and other things, by the same process. But he exists in both equally, and causes them to operate. Therefore, all things are the property of Sivan. He pervades the *Siva-Lingam*, so as not to appear as any thing different from it. Therefore, love him [as seen in that form], and perform *pūsei* to him.

The *kanmam* will not lose their hold on any one, except by the worship of Sivan.

6. When one does any thing, he cannot [while under the influence of *kanmam*] avoid saying: I have done this, or: others have done it. Therefore, unless that *kanmam* be removed, true *gnānam* will not mature. But when one examines, by the help of the *gnānam* he has, in order to the removal of *kanmam*, and worships Sivan, then the light of Sivan will shine in him. Therefore, do thou, with desire, worship, looking upon the devotees of Sivan, and the *Siva-Lingam*, as one [as equally the forms of Sivan].

Thou shouldst worship, looking on Sivan, the Guru, and the *Sāstiram*, as one.

7. When Sivan, who is he who exists as the life of all souls, shall embrace, in his mind, souls which are under the influence of but one *malam* [the *Vigngnānakalar*], while in his proper position in them, then they will experience no further births. When he shall look, with his sacred eyes, upon those which are under the influence of two *malam* [the *Piralayākalar*], but in which Sivan has shone, then to them will there be no other birth. When Sivan comes as the divine Guru to the *Sakalar*, which are subject to the three *malam*, but in which the light of Sivan has shone, and when he embraces them in his sacred mind, and looks upon them with his sacred eyes, and instructs them in the sweet *Sāstiram*, then they will experience no other birth.

The origin of this work.

8. Sivan, through his chamberlain *Nunti*, revealed to our lord *Sanatkumāran*, in consequence of his high devotion, the *Gnāna-Nūl* (ஞானநூல்), System of Sacred Science [the *Ravurava-Ākaman*]. *Meykaṇḍān* [a Guru of the third generation from *Sanatkumāran*], who has embraced in his mind the twelve Sanskrit *Sūttiram* of the *Gnāna-Nūl*; who worships Sivan; who distinguishes and renounces *asattu* as such, and who perceives *sattu*;—he translated these stanzas into Tamil. And now, that the inhabitants of the earth may understand these doctrines, they are here explained [in the commentary] in a logical form, by means of *paksham*, propositions; *ēthu*, reasons; and *tiruttāntam*, proofs [or conclusions].

Siva-Gnāna Pōtham is ended.

ARTICLE III.

MULAMULI,

OR

THE BUDDHIST GENESIS

OF

EASTERN INDIA,

FROM THE SHAN, THROUGH THE TALAING AND BURMAN.

BY

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(Read October 14, 1852.)

M U L A M U L I.

WERE Italian popery, English puritanism, and German rationalism given, to find apostolic Christianity, the problem would be like that of determining primitive Buddhism from its present phases in Ceylon, Thibet and Eastern India. It were as easy, from the present Fauna and Flora of the earth, to determine its Fauna and Flora in the cretaceous, oolitic, or carboniferous age.

In Asoka's edicts, there is nothing recognized superior to the Law. No idol-worship is enjoined, no god or saint invoked;* and the missionary has now to argue with Buddhists who put the Law in the place of the Supreme God, and who believe that Gautama was inspired in no sense superior to that in which Göthe attributed inspiration to Byron. Buddhist inscriptions subsequent to the age of Asoka, commence with: "Glory to the Arahatas"—those who have been perfected by the Law; then: "Glory to Buddha—Glory to the Law—Glory to Indra;" and finally: "Glory to Bhagavat," the form now in use.

Law is the origin of all things in the following article, which has been abridged from a small volume that purports to have been translated into Talaing from the Shan language, at Labong,† A. D. 1768. It was, however, originally written

* One passage Prinsep translated, with some doubt: "Worship ye the lord, the proper object of worship." He founded his rendering on *Isa*, or *Isana*, being the Pali form of *Iswara*; but in all the Pali that I have read it is written *Isara*, or *Ishara*; and the usage of the pillar-Pali would lead us to expect the *v* to be retained in the name, as in Sanskrit, although in the Pali of books it is, in such compounds, usually omitted: e. g. *saocta*, white, is, in the inscriptions, the same as the Sanskrit, although in the Pali of books the word is written *seta*. Moreover, *Ishara* is never applied to Gautama, but is used as a synonym of Siva, who, with the other Hindû gods, is regarded as vastly inferior to Buddha.

† Labong is a city in the Shan States, on a branch of the Meinam river, in about lat. 18° 46' N., and long. 99° 30' E., according to Major Macleod, who visited the place a few years ago.

in Pali, for portions of the Pali text accompany the vernacular version. The language differs from the Pali of Burman books enough to prove them the work of different authors. In this work, the earth is most usually called *sundari*, while in Burman Pali *patavi* is more common; the elephant is *gajja*, but in Burman Pali, *hatti*,* and the king of the second deva-heavens is *Inda*,† but in Burman Pali *Sakka*,‡ with other variations of a similar character.

The development-hypothesis of the French philosophers has been traced to the Greeks; and here, in the origin of the mineral and vegetable kingdoms, the same doctrine is presented by the Buddhists. It probably had its origin where the Indo-European languages were first spoken, for it has clearly accompanied them in their migrations, both East and West. The male and female creators, here emanating from the elements, resemble the first Eons of the Gnostics, which were produced by the Bythos; but are perhaps more nearly allied to some of the myths in the Purāṇas. The system here taught is quite different from any thing that has hitherto proceeded from Ceylon, or Eastern India, but approaches, in some of its features, to the Buddhism of Thibet, yet is materially different. Moreover, as the originals of the Thibetian books are Sanskrit, while this book was first written in Pali, it cannot have been introduced from the North. The Singalese books were nearly all destroyed in the sixteenth century, and the Burmese, Talaing and Tai libraries have been so imperfectly examined, that nothing can be argued from our previous ignorance that such works existed.

* In the Pali of Asoka's edicts, this word is *hasti*, as in Sanskrit; but I have never met with this form in Pali books.

† The *Indra* of Sanskrit, *r* being dropped in Pali, as is usual in such compounds.

‡ This is the same word, in the original, as Turnour's *Sakko*. See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for Sept. 1837, page 718. I write Pali names in the uninflected form, and this is the usual practice with Sanskrit scholars; but Turnour writes his names inflected for the nominative case. The *o* is affixed to the ground-form, to form the nominative singular of most nouns masculine with final *a*. This mode of writing has led European and American scholars to make a distinction between Sanskrit and Pali words, where no distinction exists. Thus, *Asoko* in Pali, when denuded of its inflection, becomes *Asoka*, as in Sanskrit; *Suddhodano* becomes *Suddhodana*; *Tavatinsā* becomes *Tavatinsā*; and so in a multitude of other instances.

The *Mulamuli** opens with the statement that, when Gautama, soon after he attained the Buddhahood, preached to his followers in Pali, they found it difficult to understand him; but one of them, the great Kachchanya, prepared a Pali grammar which enabled them to understand his language with facility.† When Kondanya‡ expressed his satisfaction with the grammatical principles evinced, Gautama replied: "Kondanya! the law which Kachchanya has followed, is not his own. It is a natural law, that has descended, generation after generation, from the days of the Buddha Tikkhagga, at the beginning of the world." Kondanya then expressed a desire that Gautama would inform them of the origin of the universe; and he responded in an uninterrupted discourse which occupies the volume under consideration.

"What was the first thing?" he asked. "Law. What law? The law of progress.§ Kondanya! before this mundane world came into existence, there were no bramhas, no devas, no men, no beasts, no earth, no fire, no air, no trees, no grass, nothing whatever; all was emptiness. The first things that came into existence, were the cold and hot seasons. They appeared simultaneously, and were succeeded by a wind blowing unceasingly." The air increased until a mass was accumulated, nine millions six hundred thousand miles|| thick; when water appeared, which went on increasing till it covered the air to the depth of four millions eight

* From *mūla*, root, origin, beginning; because the work thus named treats of the beginning of things.

† This shows that the Pali was not regarded by the writer as the vernacular language of Magadha. The grammar reputed to have been written by Kachchanya, still exists. I had a copy made from the palm-leaf, on small quarto paper, and the Pali text occupies between two and three hundred pages, while the Burmese interpretation covers more than two thousand. I made a compendium of the whole Pali and English, a few years ago, on the model of European Grammars, which might be printed in one or two hundred pages, and convey all the information contained in the two or three thousand in manuscript.

‡ The *Kondanno* of Turnour, one of Gautama's first converts after he reached the Buddhahood, and the only Brahman who recognized, in the infant son of king Suddhodana, the signs of a Buddha. In all the Pali I have read, where this name occurs, the last consonant is *ṇ*, which I represent by *ny* as pronounced in Burmah.

§ The Pali word is *dhava*, sometimes rendered *nature*; but the vernacular translation is like my English rendering.

|| The *yojana* of the text, which is variously estimated at from four to twelve miles, for the convenience of round numbers, I render by ten miles, throughout this article.

hundred thousand miles. From the water a vapor began to arise, which afterwards fell in rain. The dry season dried up the rain, and earth appeared, which increased until it was two millions four hundred thousand miles thick. The earth had a disposition to produce stones or minerals, and the ores of silver, gold, iron, tin and copper appeared, together with the various precious stones. On the gold ore, the first appearances of vegetation were seen, in the form of green mucous slime, or brittleworts,* which were followed by the grasses, and by the other plants of the vegetable kingdom, in succession.

The four elements had an inclination to produce living beings, the first of which were earth-worms and maggots, the product of earth. Air gave birth to numerous insects; fire to fire-flies; and water to innumerable water-insects. These animals had life, but they had neither understanding nor spirit. For an *asankhyeya*† of kalpas, they continued to be born and die, when they began to increase slightly in intelligence; and, after an equal number of kalpas had elapsed, animals with bones first appeared. Still they were small, the largest not larger than the grub of the weevil that eats the areca-nut; their bones were of the size of fine grass-stems, and they were quite destitute of blood. These continued to be born and die for a thousand *asankhyeyas* of kalpas. At the termination of this period, the element earth, with the disposition to the feminine form, produced a female who was called *Ihtangeyyasangasi*. This woman lived on the odor of flowers; and at this period the earth was so abundantly covered with grass and trees, that it was difficult to move about, to lie down, or to rise up. Then the woman said to herself: "Trees and grasses are very numerous. It is very difficult for me to come and go. It would be a good thing for me to create forms,‡ and cause them to

* *Diatomaceæ*. See Lindley's *Vegetable Kingdom*, page 12.

† This being a neuter noun, the nominative singular is made by affixing *n*, as, *asankhyeyan*, the form used by Turnour, who calls it an "incalculable period," which the etymology seems to justify. Kachchanya the grammarian, however, says that it is the number designated by a unit with twenty-five ciphers affixed. Another authority says that the seven ciphers of a crore, the highest number for which there is any proper designation, must be multiplied by twenty, and that the product, one hundred and forty cyphers, appended to the unit, constitutes an *asankhyeya*.

‡ The Pali word is *rupa*, and, like the corresponding Sanskrit *rūpa*, admits of various renderings. It sometimes occurs in the Pali text where it is not rendered in the vernacular version, e. g.: *Tada tejodhatuya purisa rupa upaj-*

devour the trees and grasses.' Thus saying, she took earth and brittleworts, and made two forms of various races of animals, the one male, the other female." She next inserted in the hearts of these forms a disposition, or nature, for existence, and a grub or caterpillar was produced in each; and they became living beings. To these animals she gave names which are Pali; and "this is the language that existed anterior to the first of the Buddhas; but, when they appeared, each one spoke this language, down to the last." One hundred thousand species of land-animals, and seventy thousand species of fish, are said to have been created. These increased in individuals, by hundreds, and thousands, and tens of thousands, until they became exceedingly numerous; and, in consequence of their devouring the herbage and trees, the earth was almost denuded of vegetation. Nothing came to flower or fruit, and the woman sought and obtained with difficulty the odor of flowers on which to subsist. "Then she said to herself: 'They are astonishingly abundant! They have eaten up trees and bamboos, flowers and fruits, without leaving a fragment. What shall I do? It would be a good thing were they to die, and afterwards come to life again.'" Thus she thought for eighty-four thousand kalpas; and after they had elapsed, the element fire produced in another place a male. His name was *Pusangeyyasangasi*. When this man saw the different animals going to and fro on the earth, and enjoying themselves as they chose, he thought to himself: "These forms are of one mind, and enjoy themselves in each other's society. Is there any form of being like myself?" He went wandering about, and met with the woman. When he saw her, he drew near; but she, observing him approach, said: 'Why dost thou come to me?' He replied: 'I come to make thee my friend and associate.' The woman continued: 'Hast thou wisdom to devise one thing? Without that, thou canst not become my associate.' The man answered: 'Speak the thing that is to be done, and I will consider it.' The woman then said: 'These forms created from the four

janti anya padese pusangeyyasangasi nama puriso, i. e. "Then, from the element fire, a male was produced in another place. *Pusangeyyasangasi* was the name of the male."

Upaja does not appear as a verb in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, but it is common in Pali, conjugated like the seventh conjugation in Sanskrit, by the insertion of *n* between the root and terminations.

elements with a nature for existence—canst thou devise any way in which they may repeatedly die, and repeatedly come to life again, and not live continually?" After considering the subject eighty-four thousand kalpas, the man "understood the mind of the woman;" and said: "If from the three sexual natures, and the four elements, a male, a female and a neuter be created, men, generation after generation, will increase in wisdom, and will be able to put an end to the beasts." When the woman heard these words, she thought he had spoken well, was pleased, and remained silent. After the two had remained together for a period, the man went and brought the four embryo elements* to the woman, with as much of the element of glory† as a grain of mustard-seed. The woman took the embryo elements, and preparing them with clay and brittleworts, made three human forms, "one a neuter, one a female, and one a male. She inserted the element earth to give stability, the element fire to give strength, the element water to give beauty, the element air to produce joy, the faculty of seeing to distinguish forms, and the faculty of understanding to know sensations." Finally, she inserted a disposition, or nature, for spirit, which produced grubs or caterpillars‡ in the abdomen; which in ten months brought living human beings, male, female and neuter.

These human beings soon became sick, when their creators consulted together, and decided that the seasons coming all together was the cause; so they separated them, and gave to each its appropriate period. This afforded relief, but they were thin, and then the rice-plant was created for them.

Afterwards, the creators thought: "These people of ours have nothing to mark time. Let us prepare for them something to distinguish days and months." Then they made a large elephant. "The body was black like a black man,

* Four *bhavya*, Sanskrit *bhavya*, what is to be.

† The Pali word is *si*, which I derive from *sri*. I am not confident of the rendering given to this word, nor of that of the preceding one noted. I have never met with either, before, and they are not understood by the natives.

‡ It is a popular superstition with the Burmese, that the soul escapes from man at death in the form of a butterfly. This is precisely what the Greeks said of the *ψυχή*. "Among the ancients, when a man expired, a butterfly appeared fluttering above, as if rising from the mouth of the deceased." That the Greeks and the Burmese have here drawn from a common origin, is placed beyond doubt.

the feet and legs were white and shining like silver, the tusks were red with the glow of the ruby, the head resembled gold, and the trunk was like the sapphire-feathers of the roller."* Its length was four hundred and ninety thousand miles, and it fed on air and water. On its back they placed mount Meru, and put it in the midst of the ocean. "Mount Meru sinks in the ocean seven millions two hundred thousand miles, and rises the same above it, in height." Then they made the twelve signs, the moon, and the twenty-seven lunar mansions.† Next, they created the sun, and caused it to revolve around mount Meru to give light; and for the moon they made a silver palace in the form of an apple-shell.‡ "Half way up mount Meru, they placed the first deva-heavens, and on the summit T'avatinsa, the second deva-heavens.

The human beings then grew, and had three children. The woman took great pleasure in the male, and watched over him, but had no regard for the neuter; and the neuter became envious of the happiness of the man and his wife, and killed the man. When the woman saw her husband die, she was unhappy, and took the body and laid it in a retired spot, alone, where she daily carried it food, until it had completely decayed. After the body was consumed, she placed by the spot a piece of wood, and set it up for a monument; and daily carried to it food. The woman and the neuter died in turn, and the children treated their mother as she had her husband, but neglected the neuter. These three children had thirteen children of their own, six boys and seven girls, the neuter not being continued. These children, when they observed different animals, made various exclamations, which became the first language of men, and this is stated to be the language of Magadha.§ Subsequently, the people

* *Coracias affinis*, often called the blue jay; but *roller* is its proper English name.

† The names of the signs of the zodiac are the same in Pali as they are in Sanskrit, Arabic and Greek. The names of the lunar mansions agree with the Sanskrit, but differ from the Arabic. However, the word which denotes an asterism or lunar mansion, *nakkhata*, Sanskrit *nakshatra*, is probably of similar origin with the Arabic *منزل*, *menzil*, and the Hebrew *מַזָּל*, *mazzal*, and *מַזָּר*, *mazzar*; though Gesenius, erroneously in my opinion, defines the Hebrew words in the plural, by "the twelve signs of the zodiac."

‡ *Ampullaria*.

§ The specimens given are not Pali.

were sick, and the creators said to each other: 'The sons of the world are sick and dying, and there are none to assist them. It would be a good thing to make planets to prevent their being entirely destroyed.'* Then they formed palaces from the four elements, and set them with the planets within them in the zodiac.*

At this time, all men lived in peace. They eat, drank and worked in perfect harmony; and they soon began to kill animals both of the land and water, to support life. "For there was no one to teach them the distinction between meritorious and unmeritorious deeds."

When the two creators looked on, and considered the mundane world, they were alarmed, for they saw that men at death, in consequence of killing animals, were conceived in the bodies of brutes. Then, by means of the four elements, they attached intellectual births to various fruit-trees; and persons who eat of the fruit produced children with virtuous affections. From this period divisions arose; for some men had evil hearts, and some good ones. After men had become very numerous, persons with good dispositions were very scarce, while the wicked abounded; and knowing not the distinctions between good and evil, at death they went to hell. "Hell was not created by any one, but was developed by unmeritorious works. The fire of the angry mind produces the fire of hell, and consumes its possessor. When a person does evil, he lights the fire of hell, and burns with his own fire. A wicked person causes the deeds that he performs with the six organs, seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling and thinking, to impinge upon himself; which at all times and in all places produces hell."

At this time, there was one good man, an orphan, and no one would show him hospitality; so he took up his abode under a lone hopea-tree, where he wept because he was friendless; and ultimately he became a hermit, repented of his sins, "knew himself," cultivated virtuous affections, and at death became the first deva, or guardian spirit, of trees. A few others obtained sufficient merit to become devas of trees, but the great mass of mankind went to hell, and were consumed in flames. Then the two creators said to each

* Here the astrological views of the writer appear. Astrology continues to be in as much favor with the Burmese as it was in Europe in the dark ages; and the diagram they make, when they cast the horoscope, is precisely the same as that seen in all English books on astrology.

other: "This kalpa has endured very long indeed, and yet no one has appeared with sufficient moral power to bring it to an end, as we anticipated. Let us destroy the world by the element fire, and, after these people have died, the next that come will increase in wisdom and virtue." Then they made the sixteen bramha-heavens for a place of refuge, and created an immense elephant. When it held in its breath, there was neither rain nor dew, and the whole earth was dried up as if it had been burned. "Then men feared death, and an impulse was given to the law of love and compassion; so that when men died they ascended to the bramha-heavens.

A large measure of the element fire was infused into the palace of the moon; the sun could not keep its place, and came in contact with the moon; and the burning sun impinged on the planets, till the whole universe was one entire conflagration, and all was burned up below the bramha-heavens. Then the elephant breathed out, and the rain descended, and extinguished the fire.

The remaining portion of the volume is occupied with stories to illustrate the gradual development of moral principles, from the smallest of meritorious acts, up to the period in which there was sufficient moral power in the world to produce a Buddha.

After a hundred thousand kalpas had been destroyed by fire, the orphan, who had been king of the second deva-heavens, was again born on earth, where the people were still ignorant of moral principles; but he possessed so virtuous a mind that he kept himself from taking life, from theft, from adultery, from speaking falsehood, and from drinking intoxicating liquors; and at death he went to the bramha-heavens.

When more than ten thousand kalpas had passed away since he ascended to the bramhas, the soul of the poor orphan who became the first deva of trees, was again in a human form; and his son astonished his relatives and friends, by talking when he was first born. They exclaimed: "He speaks the language of grown men. He is a remarkable child; much is to be expected of him. We will call him Pratyeka-*

* I have adopted the Sanskrit form *Pratyeka*, because the word has been anglicised, and it is undesirable to have two forms for the same word. Other-

Buddha." He realized their expectations, and became a Pratyeka-Buddha; which is defined: "One with power to discern the past, the present, and the future, of the single kalpa in which he appears," in distinction from a full Buddha, who has all knowledge of all kalpas.

After one of these Pratyeka-Buddhas had appeared, they gradually increased in number. "In some kalpas, there would be one, in others two, in others three, in others ten, in others a hundred, and in others a thousand. Ten thousand kalpas and one hundred thousand asankhyeyas of years had elapsed, after the appearance of the first Pratyeka-Buddha, when a pious man was born on earth, who in his various transmigrations had met with eight hundred and twenty-five thousand Pratyeka-Buddhas. He remembered his former states, but could not enumerate the number of times he had been a king, a poor man, a beast, or an inhabitant of hell. He said: 'A hundred thousand years of the highest happiness on earth are not equal to the happiness of one day in the deva-heavens; and a hundred thousand years of misery on earth are not equal to one day of misery in hell; and the misery of hell is not enumerated by days, but by kalpas. How shall I escape hell, and obtain eternal bliss?' He remained in meditation unceasingly, and when he saw his parents give rice to a Pratyeka-Buddha, he thought to himself: 'How often, in former states, have I given away gold, silver, slaves, buffaloes, oxen, elephants, and horses. These offerings have no power to destroy births. They are external offerings. I will make an internal offering. I will present my body a burnt offering.' He gave away his wife and children to beggars, and offered himself a burnt offering to the Pratyeka-Buddha. After eighty asankhyeyas of years, and seventy kalpas more, had passed away, he was born again on earth, having often, in the interval, "made the living offering; and having met with two hundred and eighty millions of Pratyeka-Buddhas." He lived a hermit, repeating the sacred sentences, and at death went to the brahma-heavens.

wise, the Pali *Pachc* would have been used. I derive it from *prati*, instead of, and *eka*, one, i. e. one instead of, or a substitute for Buddha. M. Rémusat renders: "a separate or distinct Buddha"—a signification unsuitable to the usage of the word in this article.

Passing over several other episodes, the Suvärna-kalpa, or golden age, is reached. At this time, "beasts spoke the language of men, and when the trees were questioned they made answer." In this age, lived Tikkhagga, the son of a king, who, when he was four thousand years of age, became a hermit, and dwelt two hundred years under a butea-tree, two hundred more under a shorea-tree, two hundred more under a banyan-tree,* and so on till he had made the circle of twenty-five different trees. By self-denial for five thousand years, in these twenty-five different places, he obtained infinite knowledge, while seated under the last one, a *Buchanania latifolia*.†

"At the instant of becoming God, he exclaimed with joy: '*Aneka jati sansaran!*' i. e. 'Not one more mundane birth!' Then the devas and bramhas saw the wonderful glory which illuminated the ten thousand systems, and all assembled in the presence of this most excellent divinity, and said to him: 'Thou who excellest all devas and bramhas, what is thy name?' 'My name,' he replied, 'is Infinite Knowledge.'

* *Ficus indica*, Pali *nigrodha*, Sanskrit *nyagrodha*. Some authors erroneously identify the tree under which Gautama was perfected with the banyan, but that in Pali is *bodi*, Sanskrit *bhodhi*, the pipal, *Ficus religiosa*. Kasyapa,^a the Buddha said to have immediately preceded Gautama, was perfected under a banyan; and the two trees are always distinguished in the Burmese translations, as well as in the Pali text. In practice, however, the Buddhists are not very particular. *Ficus cordifolia* is substituted for the pipal throughout these Provinces, and is regarded with equal veneration. In a village near my present residence, is a tree to which the villagers pay special honors, although I have never before seen it out of its native salt-water swamps, in which it abounds, from the Mergui Archipelago to the mouths of the Irrawaddy. It is nearly identical with descriptions of *Ficus benjamina*, and, like that, drops roots from the branches, which enter the ground, and become trunks as large as the parent; a power of which the pipal is wholly destitute, though possessed in so remarkable a manner by the banyan. If Fa-Hian's description of the tree he saw in Ceylon be correct, it was probably a *F. benjamina*, for that species is common in Southern Hindustan, and is planted there for its shade, as the banyan is at the North.

† *Buchanania latifolia* often figures in the writings of the Buddhists as a sacred tree. Six or seven centuries ago, when *Narapadisethu*, king of Pagan, was passing down this coast, with a fleet of eight hundred thousand boats, on reaching the mouth of Tavoy river, by some superhuman power, they all stood still, and would not move any farther. The king went on shore at Tavoy-point, to ascertain the cause, and found, in a *Buchanania latifolia*, a little box containing a tooth of Gautama.

^a The Pali character that Turnour and others render by *ss*, represents both *s* and *sy*, in Sanskrit. It is sometimes written by doubling the *s*, but usually otherwise, and is never pronounced *ss* in this country.

Then men, devas and bramhas rejoiced, and adoringly exclaimed: '*Namo tasya Bhagavato arahato samma sambuddhasya*,'* i. e. 'Glory to this Bhagavat, worthy of worship, perfect in knowledge.'

They then asked him for instruction, and he preached to them the *Mulamuli*, because, he said, it was best adapted to the degree of knowledge possessed by his hearers.

Ihtangeyyasangasi and *Pusangeyyasangasi*, the two creators, saw the glory that enlightened the ten thousand systems, and came to the Buddha to make inquiries. He told them that they existed at the beginning, before men, and made the world, and that their merit was great. This intelligence was quite new to them, but they received it with great joy, and worshipping the Buddha, expressed a desire to be like him. He replied that, if devas and men wished to be like him, they must make his image and worship it.

When Tikkhagga was about to take *nirvana*, men, devas and bramhas requested him to establish his religion, and "he established it for five thousand years, and appointed, as objects of worship, the Law, the Church, and the Substitute for Buddha, his image." He then declared: "He who worships the Buddha, shall have great glory; he who worships the Law, shall have much knowledge; and he who worships the Church, shall have much wealth and pleasure."

* This Pali sentence is written at the commencement of every Buddhist book, Pali, Burman and Talaing, that I have ever seen; and it is, I believe, equally common in Tai books; but I never before met with any account of its origin, and the natives are so ignorant of the grammar of the language in which it is written, that they usually render, in the first person: "I worship." This is the rendering given in the Laws of Manu, translated from the Burman a few years ago; although Burnouf and Lassen's accurate Latin version had been before the public nearly a quarter of a century: "Adoratio huic Bhagavat (domino) arhat (venerando) completo intelligendi." I render *namo* by *glory*, rather than by *worship*, because for the verb *to worship*, in the closing sentence of the book, *pūja* is used, Sanskrit *pūja*, which more accurately denotes that; while the verb *nama*, in Pali as well as Sanskrit, is more used in the signification *to bow*, *to pay obeisance*.

MISCELLANIES.

I. ORTHOGRAPHY OF ARMENIAN AND TURKISH PROPER NAMES.

Orta-keuy (near Constantinople), Nov. 23, 1852.

At the annual meeting of our mission, last spring, a committee was appointed (consisting of Mr. Riggs of Smyrna and myself), for the purpose of preparing a system of rules for the spelling in English of Armenian and Turkish proper names; the chief object being to secure uniformity in this thing, in the communications of missionaries to the United States.

We have accomplished our task, and I herewith enclose a copy of the rules we have adopted, which you may be interested in examining.

H. G. O. DWIGHT.

The following system is proposed for the spelling of Armenian and Turkish proper names with Roman letters.

1. *Sounds of the Vowels.*

a as in *far*.
e as in *fate*.
i as in *machine*.
o as in *note*.
u as in *unit*.

ù as *u* in *but*.
oo as in *moon*.
ai as *i* in *ivy*.
eu as the French *eu* in *peu*.

Note.—Some of the above are but approximations to the vowel-sounds designed to be expressed. *E* and *o*, for example, are not quite so broad and open as the corresponding English sounds. *Ai* is strictly a diphthong, the elements of which are indeed the same with those of our long *i*, but are not so closely united in pronunciation. This becomes evident when we hear an Oriental attempting to pronounce such words as *hide*, *sign*, etc. *U* in Armenian names is best represented as above; but in Turkish words it corresponds more exactly with the French *u* as in *une*. The sound represented by *ù* is more exactly that of the French *e* in *le*, *me*, etc.

2. *Sounds of the Consonants.*

g always hard, as in *good*.
s as in *sun*.

ch as in *chair*.
zh as *s* in *pleasure*.

Gh and *kh* are gutturals, having no corresponding sounds or characters in English or French. The former resembles the modern Greek γ , and the latter χ , but both are deeper.

C to be used only in connection with *h*, except in words that have become anglicised with a *c* in them.

J, *sh*, and, in general, the consonants not mentioned above, to be sounded as in English. The combination *th* does not occur; when therefore these letters occur together, they are to be regarded as belonging to different syllables, and each is to have its own proper sound: e. g. *Fethi*, pronounced *Fet-hi*.

3. *Accent.*

The accent, which is slight, is uniformly on the last syllable in Armenian proper names, and nearly so in Turkish. All the other syllables should be uttered fully, and with equal stress of voice.

4. *Anglicised Names.*

Names which have been long familiar to English and American readers, and have thus become anglicised, not to be changed. Such are Constantinople, Smyrna, Scio, Mitylene, Nicomedia, Philadelphia, etc. In fact, being for the most part Greek names, they do not strictly fall within the rules above given. In the following list, Greek names are distinguished by being printed in italics; others which, in compliance with usage, retain a spelling somewhat varying from the rules given above, are marked by an asterisk.

Both the appended lists are given merely as a specimen of the manner of applying the rules, and not by any means as complete lists of Armenian and Turkish proper names.

Names of Places.

Adabazar.	Bandürma.	Echmiadzin.
<i>Adalia.</i>	Batoon.	Erzingyan.
<i>Adrianople.</i>	Bebek.	Erzroom.
Afion-kara-hissar.	Beylerbey.	Eski-hissar.
Agn.	Bergama (<i>Pergamos</i>).	Eski-stanbool.
Aidin.	Beshiktash.	Eudemish.
Aintab.	Bin-bin-kiliseh.	<i>Euphrates.</i>
Ak-hissar (<i>Thyatira</i>).	Bitlis.	Fener.
Ak-shehir.	Bir.	Fündükli.
Ala-shehir (<i>Philadelph</i>).	Boloo.	Galata.
<i>phia</i>).	Boodroom.	Gebiza.
Amasia.	*Boujah.	Geghi.
<i>Angora.</i>	*Bournabat.	Gemlik.
Arabkir.	Broosa.	Geyra.
Armasch.	Beuyuk-dereh.	Geumush-khaneh.
Arnaoot-keuy.	Chanak-kalesi.	Gurun.
Baghchejük.	<i>Constantinople.</i>	Guzel-hissar.
Baghche-keuy.	Demirdesh.	Haineih.
Balat.	Denizli.	Hajilar.
Balukeser.	Derbend.	Hassan-pacha.
Baiazid.	Diadin.	Hass-keuy.
Baindir.	Diarbekir.	<i>Hierapolis.</i>

Injir-keuy.	Marash.	<i>Sardia</i> .
Isnik (<i>Nice</i>).	Marsovan.	<i>Scio</i> .
Kandilli.	<i>Mitylene</i> .	*Scutari.
Kaiseri (<i>Cæsarea</i>).	Moodania.	Sedi-keuy.
Kara-hissar.	Moosh.	Sivri-hissar.
Kars.	*Mosul.	Skanderoon.*
Kassaba.	Nazli.	<i>Sinope</i> .
Kesab.	Nigde.	Sivas.
Keupru.	Ooshak.	<i>Smyrna</i> .
Kharpoot.	Oorfa.	<i>Sophia</i> .
Khartal.	Orta-keuy.	<i>Tarsus</i> .
Khonoos.	Osmanjûk.	Tekir-dagh (<i>Rodosto</i>).
Killis.	Ovajûk.	<i>Tenedos</i> .
Konieh (<i>Iconium</i>).	<i>Pera</i> .	<i>Therapia</i> .
Koom-kaleh.	<i>Philadelphia</i> .	*Tocat.
Koom-kapoo.	<i>Platana</i> .	Trebizond.
Koola.	Rooschook.	Turkmenli.
Koordbeleng.	Sabanja.	Van.
Kûrk kiliseh.	<i>Salonica</i> (<i>Thessalonica</i>).	Vezir-Khan.
Kutahya.	Samatia.	Yeni-keuy.
<i>Laodicea</i> .	<i>Samos</i> .	Yuzgat.
<i>Maonesia</i> .	Samsoon.	Zeitoon.
Malatia.	Sandûklû.	Zilleh.
Mahalich.		

Names of Persons.

Agheksantros.	Gitagos.	Manoog.	Sempad.
Ampagoom.	Gosdantiuos.	Margos.	Tavit.
Anania.	Hagop.	Mariam.	Tatteos.
Andon.	Hampartsoom.	Mikael.	Tovmas.
Antreas.	Harootun.	Minas.	Vahan.
Apisoghom.	Hovagim.	Movses.	Simon.
Apkar.	Hovhannes.	Mûgûrdiel.	Soghomon.
Apraham.	Hovsep.	Mûkhitar.	Sookias.
Armaveni.	Hripsimeh.	Nerses.	Soorpoohi.
Aroosiag.	Israel.	Paghdasar.	Taniel.
Atanakimeh.	Kapriel.	Partooghimeos.	Yeremiah.
Avedis.	Kasbar.	Pilibbos.	Yesayi.
Bedros.	Kevork.	Prapion.	Yezegiel.
Boghos.	Khoren.	Rapael.	Zenop.
Dertad.	Khosrov.	Sahag.	Vertanes.
Dikran.	Krikor.	Samooel.	Yeghia.
Diroohi.	Levon.	Sara.	Yeghisapet.
Garabed.	Madteos.	Sarkis.	Yeghisheh.
Ghoogas.	Maghakia.	Sdepan.	Yeprem.

II. ON THE MALALENGARA.

Sea shore near Tavoy, Dec. 20, 1852.

SINCE writing to you last, the first number of the third volume of the Journal has reached me, in which, concerning the *Malalengara*, you say: "The attention of those in a situation to investigate the point, should be directed to the inquiry whether or not the text translated by Mr. Bennett is itself an original." I read the book many years ago, and have ever regarded it as a compilation from the *Pitakapa*, and Buddhaghosa's commentary, the *Athakathà*, from which Mr. Turnour translated a brief life of Gautama, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, in 1838. The *Malalengara* is a Burman translation from the Pali, interspersed with portions of the original text; and wherever Mr. Turnour has given the text from which he translated, the two are precisely alike. Discrepancies in the English translations were to be anticipated, when made from different versions, by different persons, in different countries; but no discrepancies, however great, are sufficient to prove that the original text was not the same. For example, Mr. Turnour translates, from the Pali, the first words of Gautama on attaining Buddhahood, thus: "Performing my pilgrimage through the eternity of countless existences, in sorrow have I unremittingly sought, in vain, the artificer of the abode (of the passions), i. e. the human frame. Now, O artificer, thou art found. Henceforth, no receptacle of sin shalt thou form, thy frames (literally ribs) broken, thy ridge-pole shattered. The soul (or mind) emancipated from liability to regeneration (by transmigration), has annihilated the dominion of the passions." The same words, in the translation made from the Burman, read: "Boodh kept saying to himself, 'You have endured the misery of the whole round of transmigration; now you have arrived at infinite wisdom, which is the highway to annihilation.'" Mr. Turnour, translating from the Pali, renders Gautama's last words thus: "Now, O bhikkhus! I am about to conjure you (for the last time): perishable things are transitory; without procrastination earn (*nibban-an*)."¹ In another place, he says: "Qualify yourselves (for *nibban-an*)."² The rendering from the Burman reads: "My beloved priests, the state of being leads to destruction; do you remember this, do not forget this, I charge you." Mr. Turnour gives the Pali text of both these passages, both are preserved in the *Malalengara*, and they agree with each other perfectly in every letter; though the English versions have little in common.

You remark on page 160: "According to this, Pya-da-tha, or Piya-dasi, was Asoka's father." The Pali text of this passage is: *Anāgate Piyaḍāso nāma Kumāro chhattan ussāpetvā Asoko dam-*

maraja bavisyati, i. e. Hereafter, a prince called Piyādāsa, bearing the umbrella, will become Asoka, king of the Law.

From which it appears that Piyādāsa was Asoka's proper name; and it is worthy of remark, in passing, that in the inscription found on a block of granite at Byrath, the name is written *Piyadasa*, with the same vowels that accompany the word in the *Malalengara*.

I have never met with the whole of the Pali original of the *Malalengara*, but the verbatim extracts from the works of Buddhaghosa, who lived in the fourth or fifth century, which occur in the Burman version, are sufficient to prove that the book was written subsequent to that period. It was probably compiled several centuries subsequently, for the *Athakathā*, Buddhaghosa's commentary, is referred to as an old established work, of unquestionable authority. The author manifestly confined himself to extracts from books, for his authorities, in making his compilation, for in one instance he does not adopt an addition, though found in the "*Jata-Athakathā*, because it is not found in any other part of the *Athakathā*." Had he admitted unwritten tradition into his work, he would not have rejected a statement in the *Jata*, because that would carry with it higher authority than any thing unwritten. The remark seems to imply, also, that, when he did not draw his information from the *Pitakapa*, he confined himself to the *Athakathā*.

The name, *Mālulankāra*, signifies an Ornament of Flowers, from *lankāra*, an ornament, which occurs as the second member of two or three other names of Buddhist books in Ceylon; and *mālā*, a flower, in Pali usage, though the Sanskrit *mālā* signifies a garland. The author says that the virtues and glories of Gautama adorn the work like ornaments; and hence the name. The reference to fire-arms* shows that the translation was made into Burman, after their use was known in Burmah; but it proves nothing in relation to the Pali text, for the Burmese translators are not scrupulous in their renderings. A hyperbolical description of the Himalaya, in a Burman version of the *Wesantara*, says that the dorian-trees grow there as tall as palms; while the dorian is not indigenous north of the Straits of Malacca, nor cultivated north of Tavoy. In the Pali text, the word rendered dorian is *asiti*, identical, probably, with the Sanskrit *asitā*, the indigo plant.

In closing, I would remark that the Pali names in this letter are spelt on the principles adopted by Turnour, so that the differences between his names and mine show a difference in the original texts from which we derive them.

* See *Journal Am. Or. Soc.* vol. iii. p. 32.

ARTICLE IV.

சிவ பிரகாசம்.

SIVA-PIRAKÂSAM,

LIGHT OF SIVAN.

A

METAPHYSICAL AND THEOLOGICAL TREATISE,

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL,

WITH NOTES.

BY

REV. HENRY R. HOISINGTON,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN CEYLON.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE *Siva-Pirakāsam*, Light of Sivan, is comparatively a modern work, being only about two hundred years old. The author, who is usually styled *Umāpathi Āsāriyan* (உமாபதிஆசாரியன்), was one of a class of Vāishṇava Brāhmins resident at Chīllambaram, a maritime town South of Madras, widely celebrated for its ancient temple. These Brāhmins were distinguished teachers in the Vāishṇava School of theology. The author became dissatisfied with the teachings of the Vēthīc School, especially in reference to its modes of philosophizing, as giving no satisfactory solution of many problems respecting God, the soul, and the universe. He embraced the Sāiva philosophy as taught in the *Ākamam*. Having thoroughly studied the doctrines taught in the *Siva-Gnāna-Pōtham*,* and the *Siva-Gnāna-Sitti*, which is an authoritative commentary on the former, he wrote three treatises on the same subjects. The principal one of the three is the *Siva-Pirakāsam*. The author proposes to give, in this work, the higher doctrines of the Sāiva system, in a form better adapted to the use of the Hindū scholar or disciple, than that of the two works above mentioned, one of which, he says, is too concise, and the other, too voluminous. This work is, perhaps, oftener quoted than either of those; yet it would not, probably, be considered as quite so conclusive authority, on a disputed point, as either of the other two, and, especially, the *Siva-Gnāna-Pōtham*, which is the basis of all.

The *Siva-Pirakāsam* is written in a less difficult style than the more ancient works; and the subjects are presented in a more lucid and common-sense manner than is usual in similar works in Tamil. It is one of the best commentaries extant on the *Ākamam*-doctrines respecting God, the soul,

* See Art. II. in this volume.

and the human organism. Those who would know what philosophical Hindûism is, in its fundamental principles, will do well to study this author, especially in connection with the two previous treatises on these subjects, in this volume.

This treatise is composed of one hundred and one stanzas, which constitute the only divisions made by our author, and are marked in the translation by Roman numerals. It has been thought desirable to give, in the translation, the entire work, and as nearly in the author's manner as may be. The manner of an author often reveals much of himself and of his times. We have, here, a fair specimen of the style and manner of Tamil theological writers for several centuries past.

Explanatory notes are frequently subjoined to the stanzas, but only so far as they seemed necessary in order to elucidate terms, and to render the full meaning of the author manifest.

Several stanzas at the commencement of the treatise, are occupied with prefatory matters which are more in accordance with the taste and custom of oriental writers, than connected with the subject which follows. They consist of an adoration of one of the gods, invocations, the author's apology, designed to disarm criticism, etc. These are retained as worthy of notice, both because they furnish a fair specimen of what is common with writers in the East, and because they contain allusions to facts and notions which ought to be known.

SIVA-PIRAKÂSAM.

I.

The Benefits obtained by worshipping Pilliyâr.

ILLUMINATED are the intellects of those servants who constantly meditate on the feet of the elephant-faced *Kaṇa-pathi*, from whose body, luminous with *gnānam*, flow, in abundance, the three secretions [volition, discrimination, and action], and whose great fury destroys the *pāsam*-jungles [the various entanglements of the organisms] of the worthy devotees who worship him in love, presenting the eight kinds of sacred flowers with fragrance attracting the beetle. Such persons will have no mind to remain under the control of their sinful *kanmam*.

NOTE.—The general meaning of this figurative or symbolic representation of the gracious influences of this god, will be readily understood. The devotee, like every other man, is entangled in his own sinful organism, as in a jungle. The god whom he worships, is the acting or operative deity among the divine incarnations—presenting in his proboscis the combination of the two divine efficient Energies, the male and the female. Under his guidance, which is compared to that of a mighty elephant in the jungle, the disciple is led on from stage to stage, and is prompted to look forward to full and final deliverance from all his entanglements.

The eight kinds of flowers, which are to be offered “in love,” our author explains in a mystic sense, to mean “not killing, or the avoiding of the taking of life; the subduing, or suppression, of the senses; patience; mercy or kindness; *gnānam*, wisdom; penance; truth; meditation.” These things are to be observed by the devotee while performing religious rites.

II.

Invocation of Sivan.

I place on my head and in my heart, bow down to and worship, the lotus-like feet of him [Sivan] who is self-lumin-

ous; and who graciously stands in the form of *gnānam*; who dances in the presence of *Kiriyā-Satti*, the mother and preserver of the world, and in the regions of spirit [or ethereal space], while the gods praise him; and who wears in his long, tangled hair the garland of fragrant *kondei* (கொண்டை),* the crescent, the Ganges, and the serpents of luminous gems. These things he does in order to put an end to the succession of births, which are so difficult to be removed.

NOTE.—The true idea of the representation of Sivan's dancing, is that he coöperates with his *Satti* in performing his appropriate works. He is here chiefly referred to as the Transformer, that one of the five operative gods whose business it is to continue the succession of things in the material universe, or to destroy and reproduce. But when he is addressed as the "self-luminous," and as embodied in *gnānam*, reference is had to the highest of the five operative gods, *Sathāsivan*, the Illuminator, or Grace-giver. Sivan's "tangled hair," and the ornaments with which it is adorned, all have respect to the god in his mythological character; yet, to the initiated, they are significant symbols, pointing to his prerogatives as the highest of the Triad.

III.

Invocation of Satti.

I put on my head the gracious flowery feet of the mother of the world, who is the divine *Arul*, who gives to souls the glorious form of happiness. When God willed to produce the world, she existed in the form of *Parā-Satti*, the highest organized form of the Female Energy. While the understanding of souls remains obscured in their native darkness, their *kanmam* still uncanceled, and *Siva-gnānam* not yet made to shine upon them, then she exists in the form of *Tirōthāna-Satti* (திரோதானசத்தி), the Obscuring Energy. *Ichchā-Satti* is the form in which she determines to operate on souls, so as to lead them onward to their deliverance from their corporeal bondage. *Gnānā-Satti* is her form of wisdom, in which she takes cognizance of the *kanmam*, merit and demerit, of souls, and imparts grace [or influence], accordingly. *Kiriyā-Satti* is her form of action, in which she produces for souls the external bodies, the gross organs, the localities, and the enjoyments and sufferings which are

* A species of Cassia.

in accordance with their *kanmam*, and which she causes them to experience. Thus, she takes the forms of five *Sattis*. Again, she appears, as the *Satti* of *Sathāsivan*, the Illuminator, under the title of *Manōnmani* (மனோன்மணி); as the *Satti* of *Mayēsuran*, the Obscurer, under the name of *Mayēsurei* (மயேசுரை); and as the *Satti* of *Ruttiran*, the Transformer, under the title of *Umei* (உமை). It is in these forms that she possesses the means [or three material causes] called *vintu* (விந்து), *mōikini* (மோகினி), and *makān* (மகான்), which are essential to the existence of those bodies, organs, localities, and enjoyments and sufferings, which [belong to souls, and] are either pure, mixed, or impure. She is one, though she assumes different forms. She is ever unentangled in organism, because she cannot be touched by *pāsam*. She is the seed, or the [instrumental] cause, of the effects of the five divine operations; and she is a participator in the pleasures of Sivan's dance in the region of the resplendent *gnānam*, which is carried on for the purpose of removing the sorrows of the world.

The invocation of *Satti* succeeds that of Sivan, because the latter, without the instrumentality of the former, cannot conduct his five operations for the purpose of giving souls *putti*, understanding, and *mutti*, liberation.

NOTE.—It should be borne in mind, that the five operations, so often mentioned, are original production; preservation; reproduction; obscuration; illumination. For these works, Deity has appropriate forms, which constitute the five operative gods, viz: Brahmā, Vishṇu, Sivan, *Mayēsuran*, and *Sathāsivan*; for whom the divine *Satti*, as we have seen, takes her corresponding forms.

IV.

Invocation of Pilliyār.

In order that my treatise may be useful in elucidating the three eternal entities [Deity, Soul, Matter], and for the attainment of *sāyuchchiyam* (சாயுச்சியம்), union with God, and that it may be free from poetical blemishes, in High Tamil, and that I may escape any casualty that would prevent my completing the work; I meditate on the two beautiful lotus-like feet of the elephant-faced *Kaṇapathi* [*Pilliyār*], who

was produced by the union of Sivan and *Pārpathi* (பார்பதி) [his *Satti*]. His eyes, like those of the carp,* extend to the two shining earrings, are beautified with red and dark streaks, and disdain to be likened to javelins. His secretions [volition, discrimination, and action] flow down in torrents. His lotus-like feet blossom with the flowers of *gnānam*, and are adorned with the bees of Munis [i. e. Munis, or devotees, swarm around his feet, like bees around the honey-yielding flower].

‘V.

Invocation of Kantan.

I meditate on the two flower-like feet of *Kantan* (கந்தன்) [*Skanda*], the son of *Gnānam* [*Arul-Satti*], begotten of Sivan; who rides on the blue peacock, as the general of the wealth-abounding gods; who gave instruction in *gnānam* to *Agastyar* skilled in the various sciences, in the *Vētham*, and in the *Vēthāṅkam*; who hurled his shining javelin, and by it pierced the heart of the giant *Sūran* (சூரன்), removed my native depravity, and cleaved the mount *Kiravugncham* (கிரவுஞ்சம்); and who embraced the beautiful breasts of the sylvan maid [*Vallī* (வள்ளி), his *Satti*] besmeared with fragrant ointments.

The *Vētham* are four, viz: *Irukku* (இருக்கு) [*Rik*], *Esur* (எசுர்) [*Yajus*], *Sāmam* (சாமம்), and *Atharvaṇam* (அதர்வணம்) [*Atharva*]. The *Vēthāṅkam*, which are subordinate and supplementary to the *Vētham*, are six, viz: *Sikshei* (சிக்ஷை), the science of pronunciation and articulation; *Katpam* (கற்பம்), a ritual for religious service; *Viyākaraṇam* (வியாகரணம்), grammar; *Santasu* (சந்தசு), prosody; *Nirut-tam* (நிருத்தம்), a glossary explanatory of the obscure words and phrases which occur in the *Vētham*; and *Sōthidam* (சோதிடம்) [Sans. *Jyōtisha*], astronomy and astrology.

NOTE.—*Kantan*, the second, or later developed, son of Sivan, is, in the Hindū mythology, the god of war, and the commander of the celestial armies. He is the special defender of the Brāhmanical order. But, in the philosophical system, he, wisdom-born, is the god of wis-

* A fish, *Cyprinus fimbriatus*.

dom, the form in which Sivan gives wisdom, and final liberation, to souls. *Kantan* and his *Satti* are but developments of Sivan and his *Satti*, adapted to the specific work of spiritual illumination. He and *Pilliyār*, his elder brother, belong alike to the Sāiva system, in which Sivan is considered as the Supreme God. In this system, *Pilliyār* is the generator, and god of providence; and *Kantan*, the spiritual regenerator, and god of wisdom.

Kantan is sometimes represented with many eyes, Argus-like, indicative of his all-seeing power, as the son of *Gnānam*. But he is usually figured as a man with six heads, or faces, and six hands; which form is symbolical of his character as the possessor of the six divine attributes. As such, he is called *Arumukan* (அறுமுகன்), the Six-faced; and *Arukūṇan* (அறுகுணன்), the Possessor of the six attributes or perfections.

VI.

The Divine Gurus who have Authority.

The following Gurus have a right to exercise authority [in religious matters] over us, viz: *Nantikēsuran*, the lord chamberlain [or guardian minister] of mount *Kāyilāsam* (காயிலாசம்), wherein shines the glory of the God of gods [Sivan]; *Sanatkumāran*, one of the disciples of the former; the immediate disciples of *Sanatkumāran*, who obtained a revelation of the true *gnānam*, and descended to the earth; the great Muni *Paragnchōthi* (பரஞ்சோதி), who was a disciple of the last mentioned *Gnāni*; *Meykandān*, a disciple of *Paragnchōthi*, who obtained an insight into the true *gnānam*, who lived at *Tiruveṇṇēi-Nallūr*; *Arunanti* (அருணந்தி), of immortal fame, and the disciple of *Meykandān*; and the divine *Sampantar* (சம்பந்தர்), possessed of glorious spiritual riches and never-fading benevolence.*

VII.

The Author's Adoration of his Guru.

I place on my head the glorious lotus-like feet of my spiritual father, *Marei-gnāna-Sampantar* (மரைஞானசம்பந்தர்), who came into the world to enlighten it, to cause the many-headed *Sāma-Vētham* to thrive, to cause to prosper the descendants of *Parāsara-Māmuni* (பராசரமாமுனி),† and to

* This last Guru was our author's teacher.

† A class of Brāhmanas.

secure the proper attainment of *gnānam* [in the world]. He is the crowning gem of the Sâiva School, who has graciously taken me as his servant. He is the lord [or head] of *Maruthūr* (மருதூர்), and is the glory of *Tirupennākaḍam* (திருபெண்ணாகடம்) [the source of the river Pennān], which is encircled by groves, and the tops [mountain-tops] of which, capped with cool, beautiful clouds, send out their arm-like flag-staffs, so as to intercept the moon in her course.

VIII.

The Subject of this Treatise.

I shall speak of *Seiva-sittāntam* (சைவசித்தாந்தம்) [the Sâiva system of doctrines], which begins where the *Vētham* end. The subject of my treatise is darkness to the heterodox; but to the orthodox it is light. It is measured [established] by the celebrated logical rules. The things [included in my subject, God and soul] are not one in the sense in which gold and golden jewels are one, as the *Mâyāvāthi* (மாயாவாதி) assert, because their natures are different. Nor are they contraries, in the sense of light and darkness (and therefore the *Niyāvāthi* (நியாவாதி) and the *Veisēshikar* (வெசேஷிகர்) cannot be right), for the *Vētham* and *Ākamam* both teach the doctrine of *sāyuchchiyam*, the ultimate union of God and the soul. Neither are they one, and yet opposed to each other, as a word and its meaning, as is asserted by *Pātākāriyan* (பாற்காரியன்) and *Sivāttuvithi* (சிவாத்துவிதி); for Sivan and the soul are as different from each other as the sound of a word and the substance represented by it. We, therefore, cannot admit the doctrine of *mōḍcham* (மோட்சம்), absorption into Deity. But it [the true doctrine respecting God and soul] has the beauty of *attuvitham* [i. e. unity in duality, or oneness of union, with perfect individuality of being], which is like the understanding resulting from the union of soul and body, and like the vision had through the union of the sun [-light] and the eyes. This state [*attuvitham*] is obtained by means of *sarithei*, *kirikei* and *yōkam*, as prescribed in the *Vētham* and *Ākamam*.

NOTE.—The peculiarities of the several Schools mentioned in this stanza will be more fully explained below.

There are four great stages of religious life, prescribed by the *Sās-tiram*. They are stages of study and of ritual observances, the

duties of the stages being varied as the disciple advances. These four stages result in a fifth stage, or, more properly, condition, in which the soul has nothing to do but to gaze on the splendor of the divine presence, awaiting its transit into the immediate presence of Deity, with which it will ever be in the most intimate and delightful union. The four stages are denominated *sarithei*, *kirikei*, *yōkam*, and *gnānam*. The final waiting stage is called *makā-gnānam* (மகாஞ்ஞம்).

Each of these four active stages has a four-fold division, the parts of which correspond, in some respects, with the principal stages, and are named accordingly; thus: *sarithei* of *sarithei*, *kirikei* of *sarithei*, *yōkam* of *sarithei*, *gnānam* of *sarithei*; *sarithei* of *kirikei*, *kirikei* of *kirikei*, and so on, through the whole. There are specific rigid rules prescribed, to guide the disciple through these successive steps—rules which extend to every particular in life, from the time and mode of rising in the morning, cleaning the teeth, etc., up to the most sacred duties. A due observance of these rules through the successive steps in any one of the great stages, will bring the soul to one of the heavens. *Gnānam* of *sarithei* results in the heaven called *sālōkam*, the state of being with God; *gnānam* of *kirikei*, in *sārūpam*, the state of being in the form of God; *gnānam* of *yōkam*, in *sāmīpam*, the state of nearness to God; and *gnānam* of *gnānam*, in *sāyuchchīyam*, the state of union with God.

Sarithei signifies *history*, and is nearly synonymous with *Purānam*. Hence, this first stage may be denominated the *Purānic*, or *historic*: some one of the eighteen great *Purānam* is the principal book to be regarded in this stage. This course includes the common temple-service, and nearly all the common idol-worship of the country. It is the popular idolatry of India.

Kirikei means *action*. This is the philosophic stage, in which the disciple begins to look into the principles and modes of the divine operations. The *Lingam* is the symbol of God's mode of operating, being the emblem, or, as is claimed, the embodiment, of the two divine Energies, the male and female. Hence, this stage is sometimes denominated the *Lingam*-course. That symbol is the chief external object of worship in this stage. The services of the dancing women belong appropriately to this stage, and to *kirikei* in all the four stages.

Yōkam signifies *meditation*. This stage is characterized by a peculiar course of dreamy meditation, and ascetic observances. Some of the *Yōkis*, meditators, in each of the four stages, and particularly those of the *yōkam*-stage, are the ascetics who distinguish themselves by various self-tortures.

Gnānam means *wisdom*. It is the *σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ*, and the name at once indicates the nature of the stage. The disciple has now become a

Gñāni (ஞானி), Wise-Man, having passed from the shadows of the Purāṇic stage, through the philosophic symbols of the *Lingam*-course, and through the darkness, doubts, and tortures of *yōkam*, into the region of pure light. He sees things as they are, and obtains a transforming view of God. He is thus ultimately prepared for intimate union with God.

IX.

Respecting the Three Classes of Souls, and the Seven Special Sacraments.

There are three classes of souls, viz: *Vigngnānakalar*, including all souls under the influence of only one *malam*, *āṇavam*; *Pirālayākalar*, all those which are yet entangled in two *malam*, *āṇavam* and *kanmam*; *Sakalar*, all those entangled in the three *malam*, *āṇavam*, *kanmam* and *māyei*. Souls possess these *malam* from eternity.

God effects the destruction of *pāsam* [i. e. the influence, or entanglement, of the *malam*], and causes *gnānam* to shine, in the case of those among the *Vigngnānakalar* which are well prepared for it, by rising and shining in their hearts as the sun of *gnānam*. In the case of those among the *Pirālayākalar* which are prepared, He will make the two *malam* to recede, and *gnānam* to shine forth, by revealing Himself in His divine form [*Gñāna-Rūpam*], in a vision. In the case of those among the *Sakalar* which are prepared for it, God will appear as one of themselves [i. e. as a human Guru], and will do [will lead them out of their entanglements] just as men take wild animals, by means of animals of their kind trained for the purpose; and this He will do by means of the seven *Tiḍchei* (திட்சை), Sacraments.

These seven Sacraments are: *Sudchu-tiḍchei* (சுட்சுதிட்சை), Ocular Instruction; *Parisa-tiḍchei* (பரிசுதிட்சை), Manipulative Instruction; *Vāsaka-tiḍchei* (வாசகதிட்சை), Oral Instruction; *Sāstira-tiḍchei* (சாஸ்திரதிட்சை), Scriptural Instruction; *Mānatha-tiḍchei* (மானததிட்சை), Mental Instruction; *Yōka-tiḍchei* (யோகதிட்சை), Instruction by example in *Yōkam*; *Avuttiri-tiḍchei* (அவுத்திரிதிட்சை), Formal Instruction. The last named is of two kinds: *kiriya-vuttiri*, instruction by the use of symbols; and *gnānā-vuttiri*, the illumination of *gnānam*, which removes the soul beyond these symbols.

The *Vigngnānakalar*, the first of the three classes of souls mentioned, are distinguished into *Pakkuvar* (பக்குவர்), those prepared [for illumination], and *Apakkuvar* (அபக்குவர்), the unprepared. There is a subdivision of the *Pakkuvar*, viz: those which have obtained *para-mutti* (பரமுத்தி), which are such as were [in their last appearance on earth] completely prepared for liberation from *malam*, and, consequently, obtained divine grace, and *sāyuchchiyam*, union with God; and those which have obtained *apara-mutti* (அபரமுத்தி), which are such as were but partially prepared for the removal of *malam*; and are still under its influence, though they have received divine grace.

In this latter class, are further distinguished three varieties.*

1. *Aṇusathāsivar* (அணுசதாசிவர்). These, having obtained divine grace, live in the possession of the Tattuvam of *Sa-thāsivan*, the Illuminator, and exercise the divine prerogative of dispensing grace [divine instruction] to the world. [Such are *Gnānis*, *Gurus*, etc.].

2. *Attavittēsurar* (அட்டவித்தேச்சரர்). These are souls which have attained, through the grace of God, to the Tattuvam of *Isuran* [*Mayēsuran*], the Obscurer, and act as lords over the operations of *asutta-māyei*.

3. The seventy millions of *Makā-Mantirar*. These exist in *sutta-vittei*, and are rendered operative by the *Attavittēsurar*. They are of two kinds. The first kind consists of thirty-five millions, which exist as secondary agents [or powers], when Sivan, in the form of a Guru, bestows grace on the *Sakalar*. This class obtain *mōdcham*, heaven, at the time of the Great Deluge. The other thirty-five millions exist as secondary causes, when Sivan, without the intervention of a Guru, grants grace to the *Vigngnānakalar* and *Pirālayākalar*. These, on account of their zeal in the exercise of their authority, obtain *mōdcham* after their creation [i. e. in or after the birth in which they first appear].

The *Apakkuvar* of the *Vigngnānakalar* are destitute of any definite shape, like souls in *kēvalam*. Their proper form is that of *āṇava-malam*. They continue to exist entangled in their *malam*, until they are prepared for its removal.

How does a soul attain to the state of the *Vigngnānakalar*? When one has not acquired the true *gnānam* [by the regular course], and when, consequently, his *kanmam* remain in

force, though the influence of the *kalei*, which are developments from *māyei*, is broken, then, the soul may attain to the state of the *Vigngnānakalar*, by means of that *gnānam* which prompts to say: I am *Piramam* (பிரமம்), Brahman; also, by the *yōkam*-observances; by *sanniyāsam* (சன்னியாசம்) [the fourth stage in Brāhmanical life, the ascetic abandonment of all worldly affections and possessions]; and by *pōkam* (போகம்), the experience of all merited enjoyments and sufferings. The term *Vigngnānakalar* signifies souls freed from the entanglements of the *kalei*, organs developed from *māyei*, by means of *visishṭa-gnānam* (விசிஷ்டஞானம்), which prompts the soul to say: I am *Piramam*.

NOTE.—*Visishṭa* means *proud, haughty*. The author seems to use it to designate that state of mind which results from a partial initiation into the mysteries of *gnānam*. The souls here spoken of virtually stand where the Vāishṇava *Gnānis* do, who make no distinction between the essence of God and that of the soul, in their higher theology, and hence can consistently say: I am Brahman. The author obviously aims a blow at his old companions, the Vāishṇava Brāhmins, in thus associating them with the partially enlightened *Seivar* (சைவர்).

The organisms of the *Anusathāsivar*, the *Aṭṭavittēsurar*, and the seventy millions of *Mantirar*, are developments from *Vintu* [the highest, or first, organized form of the Female Energy of Deity].

Those souls are called *Piralayākalar*, which shared in the great destruction at the time of the Great Deluge. These also are divided into two classes, viz: *Pakkuvar*, the prepared [for liberation]; and *Apakkuvar*, those not fully prepared. The *Pakkuvar* will obtain grace at their creation [i. e. will be born in the state that will lead them into true *gnānam*]. The souls [of the latter class] which secure their union with God [*sāyuchchiyam*] by becoming prepared for the removal of their *malum*, are said to attain *para-mutti*. But those which remain under the influence of their *malam*, because only partially prepared for liberation, though they secure the favor [or grace] of God, are said to attain *apara-mutti*. The number of such souls which have attained *apara-mutti*, is one hundred and eighteen. These are actuated by the *Aṭṭivittēsurar*, and carry on their operations beneath

pirakiruthi (பிரகிருதி). They are located in *pirakiruthi*, and with the *kalei* in the head. The appellation *Pirālayākalar* designates souls which were freed from the entanglements of the *kalei*, etc., at the time of the Great Deluge, *pirālayam* (பிரளயம்). Though *Ruttirar* (உருத்திரர்) [Rudras], which belong to that class of the *Pirālayākalar* which have attained *apara-mutti*, have bodies composed of the *kalei*, etc., yet they are not so much influenced by their bodies as are the *Sakalar*.

The word *Sakalar* designates souls in the entanglements of the *kalei*. They are such as are liable to revolve [in transmigrating from body to body] through eight millions, four hundred thousand *yōni* (யோனி), matrices, in two hundred and twenty-four *puvanam* (புவனம்), worlds [or localities]. They, existing in connection with their *malam*, take, from time to time, such bodies as their *kanmam* demand, either *stūla-sarīram*, gross bodies of flesh, or *sūkkuma-sarīram*, subtile bodies.

Thus much respecting the different classes of souls.

What follows respects the *Tīdchei*, Sacraments [which are for the illumination of disciples].

1. *Sadchu-tīdchei*, Ocular Instruction. In the administration of this *tīdchei*, the Guru, like the fish which transforms her spawn into beings like herself, by looking at it, fixes his thoughts on the truth [to be imparted], and, opening his spiritual eyes, and fixing them on the disciple, consumes, as with fire, the *kanmam* which are accumulated in the disciple's *attuvā* (அத்துவா). Thus, he liberates him from the influence of his three *malam*, as the moon is freed from the grasp of *Rāku* [the eclipsing dragon, or imaginary planet].

2. *Parisa-tīdchei*, Manipulative Instruction. In this process, the Guru takes, in his right hand, the *pagnchākkaram-rosary*, which is the embodiment of the *pagncha-pirama-saṅgkam* (பஞ்சப்பிரமசடங்கம்), the five-fold formula of prayer, which is composed of six parts, and places it on the head of the disciple, for the purpose of removing the unfavorable influences of his accumulated *malam*. Considering him, now, as illuminated within and without, the Guru touches, with his right hand, the parts of his body which

correspond with the five *kalei*, and thus removes the evil accumulated in these *kalei*. This is *Parisa-tīdchei*, Manipulative Instruction.

NOTE.—The *pagnchākkaram*-rosary is composed of the nuts of the *Elæocarpus lanceolatus*. These nuts are angular, and naturally divided into five faces. The rosary varies as to the number of nuts on the string, as to the manner of knotting the string, and arranging the nuts, and as to the way in which it is used. By thus varying the form and use of this symbol, is made out, for each face of the nuts, a *sepam* (செபம்), prayer, in six parts. In this way, the Guru brings to bear, upon the disciple, the whole illuminating power of these divine developments, the five mystic letters.

For an explanation of the *pagnchākkaram*, see note to Article VI. in Vol. II. of this Journal, pp. 152-54.

3. *Vāsaka-tīdchei*, Oral Instruction. This is instruction, with spiritual light, respecting the three eternal entities, which are the substance [or objects shadowed forth] of the *pagnchākkaram*.

4. *Mānatha-tīdchei*, Mental Instruction. [This is a process of intense thought and feeling, wherein] the Guru thinks and feels for the disciple, as if for himself [i. e. the Guru meditates for the disciple, infuses his own intense desire for illumination into him, and thus brings in upon his soul the light of *gnānam*.]

5. *Sāstira-tīdchei*, Instruction by the *Sāstiram*. This is the process of removing the disciple's doubts, by causing him to hear, meditate upon, and understand, the *Sāstiram*.

6. *Yōka-tīdchei*, Instruction by example in *Yōkam*. This is the process of removing the natural thoughts and feelings of the disciple, by means of *ashḍāṅka-yōkam* (அஷ்டாங்க-யோகம்), the eight positions and modes of meditation, and by giving the disciple success in *nishḍei* (நிஷ்டை), austere meditation [which consists in the suppression of the Perceptive Organs, and continual meditation on God].

These six *Tīdchei* are administered to the *Pakkuvar*, those prepared [for liberation.] The succeeding *Tīdchei* is administered to the *Apakkuvar*, the unprepared.

7. *Avuttiri-tīdchei*, formal instruction. This is instruction [to the *Apakkuvar*] by means of symbolical diagrams and figures, usually drawn in the sand, or on the ground.

X.

The Subject of Sacraments continued.

There are two kinds of *Avuttiri-tiḍchei*, which are named above.

1. *Kiriyā-vuttiri* (கிரியாவுத்திரி), ceremony of acts [or forms]. This embraces the sacraments of the initiation and confirmation of the disciple, called *samaya*- (சமய) and *visēsha*- (விசேஷ) *tiḍchei*, in which *mantiram*, *pūsei* and *yōkam* predominate.

2. *Gnānā-vuttiri* (ஞானாவுத்திரி), spiritual ceremony. This removes the soul from under the influence of the six *Attuvā*, which are the eleven *mantiram*, the eighty-one *patham* (பதம்), words, the fifty-one *vannam* (வன்னம்), letters, the two hundred and twenty-four *puvanam* (புவனம்), regions, the thirty-six *Tattuvam*, and the five *kalei*, and then unites it to the inconceivably excellent feet of God.

The *mantiram* are those which begin at *īśānam* (ஈசானம்), and end with *attiram* (அத்திரம்). The *patham* are eighty-one, beginning with *viyōma-viyōpinē* (வியோமவியாபினே), and ending with *Om*. The fifty-one *vannam* begin with *a* and end with *ksh*. The *puvanam* are two hundred and twenty-four, beginning with *kālākkini* (காலாக்கினி) of the *Ruttirar*, and ending with *anāthūthēi* (அனாதை). The thirty-six *Tattuvam* begin with *piruthuvi*, the Element earth, and end with the *Siva-Tattuvam*. The *kalei* are five, beginning with *nivirti*, and ending with *sāntiyāthūtham*.

It is to be understood by this verse, that *sarithei*, the first stage of religious life, is included in *samaya-tiḍchei*; that *kirikei* and *yōkam* are included in *visēsha-tiḍchei*; and that the stage of *gnānam* is embraced in *nirvāṇam* (நிர்வாணம்) [= *gnānā-vuttiri*]. The last sacrament consists of instruction respecting the *attuvā*, and the removal of the soul from under their influence, and, also, of the union of the soul with the feet of God [bringing it into union with God].

NOTE.—The *Attuvā*, as here presented, are to be understood as belonging to the miniature universe, man. Thus they form parts of that organism to which attaches all the fruit, or the good and evil influences, of the *malam* which affect the soul, and make it necessary that it should be born again and again, in order that this fruit may be eaten. These faucied properties are supposed to have a real or-

ganic foundation in the human constitution; while many of them have other developed forms for the use of man, as the *mantiram*, *patham*, *puvanam*, and *vannam*, which last are the fifty-one letters of the Sanskrit alphabet.

The *mantiram* are considered mostly as incarnations of Deity. They are regarded, by the masses, as all powerful, and often as fearful existences.

The *patham* are a sort of incantation-formulas, like *mantiram*, used in the service of various divinities, on different occasions.

The *puvanam* seem to be localities of souls in different stages of progress.

The thirty-six Tattuvam have been sufficiently explained in a previous article in this Journal. They constitute the essential parts of the human body.

The five *kalei* are combinations of portions of the other five *attuvā*, each *kalei* forming an organism, or system of organs, and having its specific effect on the soul according to the law of *kannam*.*

XI.

Respecting the Heavens, and the two Gnānam.

All observances included in *kirikei*, are aids to the acquisition of *gnānam*. To those who have faithfully gone through the stages of *sarithei*, *kirikei* and *yōkam*, belong, respectively, the heavens called *sālōkam*, *sāmīpam*, and *sārūpam*. The excellent *gnānam* is two-fold. One *gnānam* is that which removes the *malam* which stick so closely; the other is *Aruḷ*, abiding *gnānam*, which never leaves the soul. The *Sāstiram* assert, as the learned know, that the *Ākamam* alone make known this *Aruḷ*.

XII.

The Sources from which our Author draws his Materials.

Meykanda-Nāyanār, one of the Gurus before mentioned [VI.], wrote in Tamil the *Siva-Gnāna-Pōtham*. His disciple, *Arunanti-Nāyanār*, wrote a larger treatise, a commentary on that work, called *Siva-Gnāna-Sitti*. I, adoring the beautiful feet of those Gurus, studied their works with delight. Considering the former to be too concise, and the latter too voluminous, and believing that they and the *Ākamam* both teach the same things, and are true, I shall attempt to blend them, and present the whole in this my treatise of one hundred stanzas, the result of ardent zeal and study, which I style *Siva-Pirakāsam*.

* For a full enumeration of the *Attuvā*, see note appended to this article.

XIII.

The Author's Apology.

Though a work be ancient, if it does not fully elucidate the three eternal entities, it is not a good work—a work worthy of acceptance. On the other hand, a work of to-day is not bad [is not to be rejected], if it clearly explains those eternal entities, just as a ruby is not rejected because wrapped in a filthy rag. The truly learned will receive the truths herein set forth, without regard to the newness of the work, or its defects in language. The scholar of moderate attainments will receive it, if it presents the excellencies of ancient works, without considering, as the truly learned will do, its own intrinsic merits. The unlearned, who never examine into the real merits of a work, will praise it, when with its friends; and, when with its enemies, will ridicule it.

XIV.

The Nature of Deity.

The leading object of many *kalei-gnānam* (கலைஞ்ஞானம்), scientific treatises, the twenty-eight divine *Ākamam*, the four *Vētham*, and of various other *Sāstiram*, is to explain the three eternal entities, *Pathi*, *Pasu* and *Pāsam*.

Pathi is *Param* (பரம்) [Brahm], Deity. The same is also called *Tat-Sivam* (தத்திவம்). This Deity, the enlightened teach, is neither purely spiritual, nor embodied; is not possessed of any material organs; has neither qualities nor names; is ever free from *malam*; is one, and eternal; is the source [or power] of understanding to innumerable souls; is fixed in position; illimitable in its nature [or immense]; exists in the form of *gnānam*; is the form of happiness; is difficult of access to unstable worshippers, but is easily approached by those who worship in the orderly course; and shines as the least of the little, and the greatest of the great.

XV.

Creation, or the Development of Things.

When *Parā-Satti* (பராசத்தி), coëxisting with *Tat-Sivam*, produced the three organized [or operative] *Satti*, called *Ichchā-Satti*, *Gnānā-Satti* and *Kiriyā-Satti*, the *Satti* of desire,

wisdom and action, then the Lord, who is free from *malam*, coöperated with each of these *Satti*. He, assuming the divine form of Grace, which is difficult to be apprehended, produced, from *Vintu* [the first development of the Female Energy], *sūkkumam* and the rest of the four *Vāṅku*, and the fifty-one letters; and, by means of the pure letters, he produced the *patham*, the *mantiram*, the twenty-eight *Ākamam*, the four *Vētham*, and all the other *Sāstiram*. Then, coöperating with the glorious *Kudilei*, he produced, for the *Vignānakalar*, bodily frames, active powers, localities, and merited pleasure and pain. Then, by coöperation with *Asutta-Māyei*, he brought forth, for the *Pirālayākular* and the *Sakalar*, bodies which combine the influence of evil actions [or the *kanmam*]; also, their active powers, and their pleasures and pains. The several forms assumed by God in the process of development, are denominated *sakalam* (சகலம்), material [= *māyārūpam* (மாயாரூபம்), material forms]; and those assumed in the resolution of things, are denominated *nīṭkalam* (நீடகலம்), immaterial, spiritual.

XVI.

*Though God assumes Different Forms in the Work of Creation,
He is not a Creature.*

The supposition that, because God takes different forms in the process of the development of things, He must be reckoned among the heavenly [or superior] productions, cannot be admitted, for the following reasons. He possesses such a form [or nature] as transcends all that which may be specified by the expression "here it is;" He has neither beginning, middle, nor end [as is the case with beings that are born, mature, and die]; as the existence of the world depends on Him, and is not the natural result of *kanmam*, as the *Kanmarāthi* assert, and as He does not take bodily forms in the sense in which souls do, therefore, He exists in the form of superabounding *gnānam*; His real nature of oneness [with souls] is beyond the reach of human understanding, except as He brings the soul into union with Himself, and instructs it from the *Vētham*, the *Ākamam* and other *Sāstiram*; He is the incomparable God, to whom none of all the passions [desires, dislikes, etc.] can adhere; and He is the life of souls, which cannot escape the control [of all the passions].

The expression "all the passions" (விருப்பமெல்லாம்) refers, particularly, to a class of seven: *mōkam* (மோகம்), that which overlooks [or conceals] the impurity of women; *matham* (மதம்), that which prompts one to praise, as beautiful, the ugly woman whom he enjoys; *rākam* (இராகம்), that which prompts a man to desire and seek a woman, though she has despised and rejected him; *vishātham* (விஷாதம்), that which makes one grieve and weep, when he fails to secure the woman whom he loves; *sōshayam* (சோஷயம்), that which makes one pine away, having no appetite for food, when he fails to obtain the woman of his choice; *veisittiyam* (வைசித்தியம்), that which makes a man anxious for his family, in view of death, and to say: How can I leave my relatives? and who will take care of my family when I die? *arisham* (அரிஷம்), that which makes a man happy when he sees his friends, and witnesses their happiness.

Some add to these the five capital vices, viz: lust, drunkenness, lying, theft, murder."

NOTE.—It is assumed, that the operative god, in all his varied forms, is absolutely void of these passions, and of their opposites. This, to the Hindû, is an argument, that God cannot be reckoned among the created, even in their heavenly stage of development.

XVII.

Further Considerations, to show that there is a God who Produces Things.

The whole world comes into existence under the three designations of *he*, *she*, *it*; and, passing on to its limit of continuance, is resolved [into *Māyei*]. Again, it is redeveloped from *Māyei* [and thus passes through successive courses]. Now, since forms [or bodies] are continually changing, some coming, some going, some maturing, and since *Māyei* is mere inert, unintelligent matter, and because souls do not know how to obtain bodies, and yet do exist in bodies through which they act—from these considerations it is evident, that God [Sivan] exists unchanging, and free from *malam*, and is the producer of all things.

The doctrine of the *Lōkāyathar* (உலோகாயத்ர), is not true, viz: that the world is not governed by God, but proceeds in its course by the power of nature. For, on such a sup-

position, nature should be uniform in all its parts and operations. But, on the contrary, we find existent a higher nature of men and women, and a lower nature of animals and plants. These are developed, pass through their respective courses, and then cease to exist. Therefore, that dogma is not true.

The position of *Pâtṭāsāriyan* (பாட்டாசாரியன்) [the founder of a school or sect allied to the Jâins and Buddhists] is not correct, viz: that the *yōni*, matrices, in which different forms are moulded, are uniform and unchangeable. For, as the worm is transformed into a wasp, and the caterpillar into a beetle, so souls, under the control of their *kanmam*, take forms varying in accordance with their previous *kanmam*, as they transmigrate from birth to birth.

NOTE.—The notion involved in the similes here used, is universal. It is a mistaken apprehension of the fact of a certain wasp encasing a worm, or grub, with its eggs, for the support of the young wasp when first hatched; and, also, that of a species of beetle depositing its eggs within a caterpillar, for the same object, and then enveloping the whole in a case. These facts had been noticed, and were very naturally misunderstood by unscientific observers. This supposed transforming power of those animals, is assumed by many authors, not only as illustrative of the doctrine in question, but as proof of it.

The doctrine of *Nirīchchura-Sīngkiyan* (நிரீச்சுரசாங்கியன்) [the founder of an infidel or atheistic branch of the *Sāngkiya* School] is false, viz: that *Māyei*, in the presence [or at the approach] of the soul [*purushan*, புருஷன்], is spontaneously developed into bodies, organs, localities, and pleasure and pain. *Māyei* is mere inert matter, and cannot, therefore, of itself assume forms.

The object of this stanza is, to assert the existence of God, in opposition to those who deny it.

XVIII.

Supremacy claimed for Sivan.

The *Vāishṇava* will say: How is it that you assert that the destroying god is the creator of the world? Has not each of the three operating gods his distinct prerogative?

Brahmā of the sweet-scented lotus, did create the whole world; and the excellent Vishṇu preserved the world created

by him. But our god destroyed them all [world and gods]; so that, as before the creation, there was nothing left, himself excepted. Brahmâ and Vishṇu are in his power; therefore, he manages all these matters, as his own work. And he re-developes all things in the way in which they were resolved. Therefore, it is he who thus operates [who worketh all in all]. Is he then changeful, and subject to different passions? No. Though he thus operates, he does not participate in any of the changes. What, then, is his mode of operation? As are the lotus-flowers in the presence of the sun which shines in the heavens, where one flower will be in full bloom, one in the bud, just ready to blossom, and one withered, according as they were prepared to be affected by its rays, so it is with the developed universe before Sivan. As the changes in the lotus do not originate in the purpose [or volitions] of the sun, so the things of the world, which are produced and controlled by Sivan, do not originate in his thought [or design]. He experiences no change in thought [and, therefore, cannot put forth successive volitions].

The manner in which Sivan manages these operations in the world, the object of them, and the way [or order] in which they actually transpire, will be explained below.

NOTE.—Our author, like all the sectarian writers among the Hindûs, applies the name of his peculiar god, Sivan, to the Supreme Deity whom he before called *Param* and *Tat-Sivam*.

It is, also, evident, that he considers the distinctive prerogatives of the several persons of the Triad, as limited to the original creation of things. The transformations, or successive productions, since the creation, are claimed to be the work of Sivan, the highest of the three. The office-work of Brahmâ, the Generator, is, according to the Sâiva School, carried on by *Pilliyâr*, who ever bears in his proboscis the symbol of the two productive divine Energies. He is, in this connection, the acting Brahmâ, or Generator. He is called the eldest son of Sivan; which, according to the esoteric interpretation of symbols, etc., points us to the philosophic idea that generation must precede preservation, and salvation or deliverance. The place of Vishṇu, the Preserver, seems to be practically filled, in the Sâiva mythological system, by *Kantan*, another son of Sivan. He is otherwise denominated *Suppiramaniyan* (சுப்பிரமணியன்), and *Kâr-tikēsan* (கார்திகேசன்). For an account of *Kantan*, see Note to stanza V. above.

XIX.

The Way in which Sivan, who exists without change, performs the Operations in the World, the Object which he has in view in them, and the Order in which they transpire.

The *Kiridāppiramavāthi* (கிரீடாப்பிரமவாதி) and other *Sittāntists* (சித்தாந்திகள்) [who are allied to the *Vēthāntists*], assert that all these things which come and go by the grace of God, are His beautiful plays. But the *Seiva-Sittāntists* [who claim to be orthodox] hold that these works have for their object the deliverance of souls from the sea of transmigration, and the bestowment of grace which shall be a firm support to them. The divine operation called destruction, gives rest to souls. Their re-development, called generation, is what is required to enable them to meet and cancel their *malam*. Their preservation [continuance in life] is for the purpose of enabling them to receive and to eat the fruit of their *kanmam*, in order that they may put an end to them. The work of obscuration of souls is for the purpose of keeping them on in their deserved course of life [according to their *kanmam*], and to give them a relish for the objects of sense, the fruit of which they must eat. The dispensation of grace [illumination] is grace unspeakable. Yet, the other operations mentioned are not to be considered as other than grace. They cannot be called plays.

NOTE.—It is the universal doctrine of the Hindūs, that souls must pass through two courses of action, good and bad, called *iruvinei* (இருவினே), the two acts; and experience the corresponding enjoyments and sufferings, in order to escape from the “sea of transmigration,” and rise into a state of bliss. Each of the first four divine operations, being steps preparatory to final liberation, which is emphatically the work of grace, is regarded as a gracious operation on the part of God. This final deliverance involves liberation from the entanglements of the soul’s organism, and entire freedom from the influence of the *malam*.

XX.

Respecting the Nature of Souls which are involved in these Operations, and which are saved by God.

Souls are not one in essence, as the *Māyāvāthi* and *Sivātuvāthi* maintain, but are manifold. They are not limited

in duration, as the Buddhists believe, but are imperishable, eternal. They are not originally pure, or free from darkness, etc., as the *Eikkiyavāthi* (ஐக்கியவாதி) teach, but are shrouded in *ānava-malam*. They, by the great grace of God, are possessed of bodies which are subject to the laws of *kanmam*. These bodies are also the abodes of [the five-fold] God, and by them souls repeat their courses of individual births and deaths, and continue to store up merit and demerit, while experiencing and fulfilling the demands of former *kanmam*. When *ānava-malam* has become [by this process of the soul] ready for removal, then God, by His great grace, unites with the soul within, and, by the *gnānam* which he imparts, causes the influence of *ānava-malam* to cease. Thus the soul comes into union with the divine feet. So they teach who are exalted in wisdom.

The prior, eternal, state of the soul, in union with *malam*, and in connection with Deity ever pure, is like that of copper in its natural coat of rust. There is no assignable cause for it. It is the soul's natural state.

How souls have existed, together, from eternity, and the principle on which they are made to experience births and deaths, is explained below.

XXI.

Respecting Ānava-malam, the Eternal Obscurer of Souls.

That which is material and multifarious, is not eternal; therefore, *ānava-malam* is one substance. It may seem that, if one substance obscured all souls, then, by the illumination of one soul, so as to secure its liberation from the entanglements of *pāsam*, all must be set free. But this cannot be. Therefore, it [*ānava-malam*] must possess the power of applying its obscuring energy indefinitely, in every part of its unlimited expansion. While darkness hides all substances, it reveals itself. But this, though it hides all souls, is itself an invisible screen, so that its darkness may be called light; for it shows neither them nor itself. It is like the rust which adheres to copper. It is natural for copper to be thus covered. But the *rasa-kulīkei* (இரசகுளிகை), mercurial pill [prepared by the *Sittar*], has the power to remove this rust. So this [*ānavam*] may be made to leave [the soul]

by the power of Sivan. It is the principal *malam* which never perishes.

It covers all the passions, the understanding, and the action of the soul. Because *Tirōtha-Satti*, the Obscuring *Satti*, stands and causes this *āṇava-malam* to pass on [in the line of human existence] to a state of preparedness for removal, she has herself been called *malam*. But, she being placable, this same *Tirōtha-Satti* will, by her abounding grace, greatly facilitate the approach of the soul to the divine feet of the god [Sivan] who bears in his tangled hair the serpents, the great goddess Ganges and the moon.

A further explanation of *āṇava-malam* follows.

Is *āṇava-malam* adventitious to souls (*ākantukam*, ஆகந்தகம்), or is it natural and coeternal (*sakasam*, சகசம்)? If adventitious, it could not hide [or obscure] the *Gnāna-Satti* of the soul [its divinely illuminated understanding]; just as that understanding which is under the influence of *rāsathakūṇam*, which is adventitious, cannot trouble the liberated soul. Therefore, it cannot be said, that *āṇava-malam* is adventitious; by which I mean something extraneous, which comes and unites with the soul. Hence, this *malam* is *sakasam*, natural, and coetaneous with the soul. But it will be objected, that, if this *malam* be natural to the soul, it must be a *kūṇam*, attribute [or quality] of the soul, just as heat is of fire, and coolness of water; and that, it being an essential attribute, if the attribute perish, then the *kūṇi* (குணி), subject of it, must likewise perish; and, therefore, that this *malam* cannot be natural to the soul. I reply that this view of *sakasam*, as expressing what is an attribute, is not correct. It rather expresses the relation of the rusty coating to the pure copper which it conceals, and of the husk, in paddy, to the rice which it envelops. The rust and the husk are *sakasam*, coetaneous envelopes, yet they are not in any sense the attributes [or qualities] of their respective subjects. Their removal [or destruction] does not imply the destruction of the copper and the rice. Just so, when *āṇava-malam*, the natural adherent of the soul, is removed, this does not imply the destruction of the soul. Therefore, there is no fault in the statement that *āṇava-malam* is *sakasam*.

Is this *āṇava-malam* an effect [or production] of *Māyei*? Or is it *Māyei* itself? Or is it the *apāvam* (அபாவம்), non-

existence [or want] of *gnānam*? Or is it the *pirāk-apāvam* (பிராகபாவம்) of *gnānam*, end [or annihilation] of a preëxisting understanding? Or is it *anniyath'-agnnānam* (அன்னியதஞ்ஞானம்), ignorance foreign to the soul [that which has no connection with, or dependence on, the soul]? Or is it a *kuṇam*, attribute, of the soul?

To these questions, I answer, in order, as follows.

It cannot be an effect of *Māyei*. For an effect of *Māyei* must be *ākantukam*, adventitious. But *āṇava-malam* is *sa-kasam*, natural. Therefore, it is not any thing produced from *Māyei*.

It is not *Māyei* itself, because *Māyei*, by its own effects [developments in the human organism], causes this *malam* to remove, and the understanding of the soul to shine forth. Still, though *Māyei*, by its developed, organized agency, causes the illumination of the soul, may it not, in its causative [objective] state, cause obscuration? This cannot be; for it is like fire, which is itself luminous, and, also, gives light by means of its effects, as in the lamp. It never hides any thing. But what influence does *Māyei* exert in its causative [objective] state? It presents, in the objects of sense, inducements to voluptuous [or carnal] desires. Beside this, it has no obscuring power like *āṇava-malam*. Therefore, *āṇava-malam*, which is like darkness, and *Māyei*, which is like the lamp, are very different from one another.

But it is asked, whether this *malam* is not the *apāvam*, non-existence, of *gnānam*? As the non-existence of *gnānam* is no substance whatever, it cannot perform the work of obscuring; just as the non-existence of a water-pot cannot bring water.

Again, it cannot be the *pirāk-apāvam* of *gnānam*, end of a preëxisting understanding. For, the *pirāk-apāvam* of understanding means the end [or conclusion] of understanding which had existed from prior eternity. But that which has an end, must have a *tōttam* (தோற்றம்), beginning—development; and what has a beginning, will perish. Hence, *pirāk-apāvam* will perish [with the understanding], and become a nonentity. Therefore, the *pirāk-apāvam* of *gnānam* is not *āṇava-malam*.

Again, this *malam* is not *anniyath'-agnnānam*, ignorance entirely foreign to the soul. For such ignorance could not exist without a cause; as in silver purified no fault will be seen, except by a defect in the eye.

Finally, *āṇava-malam* is not an attribute of the soul. For *gnāttiruttuvam* (ஞாத்திருத்துவம்), intelligence, which is spirit, may be an attribute of the soul; but *malam*, which is material, cannot be; just as heat, and not cold, is the attribute of fire.

The following terms, among others, are used as synonyms of *āṇava-malam*: *pasuttuvam* (பசத்துவம்), the natural [or original] state of the soul; *pasunikāram* (பசனிகாரம்), the error [or erring state] of the soul; *piruttupu* (பிருத்துபு), servitude (?); *mūrchei-malam* (மூர்ச்சைமலம்), the senseless *malam*; *agnchanam* (அஞ்சனம்), darkness; *avillei* (அவித்தை), ignorance; *āvirutti* (ஆவிருத்தி), the envelope; *uruttirēṇi* (உருத்திரேணி), the ultimate limit; *pāva-mūlam* (பாவமூலம்), the source [or root] of sin; *kshayam* (க்ஷயம்), loss; *pāsam* (பாசம்), the snare—fetter; *asutti* (அசுத்தி), impurity; *agnnānam* (அஞ்ஞானம்), ignorance; *pētham* (பேதம்), difference; *viyākātham* (வியாகாதம்), the impediment; *kalungkam* (களங்கம்), the blemish; *saḍam* (சடம்), body—matter; *āvaṇam* (ஆவணம்), the sign—mark; *mōkam* (மோகம்), lust; *kēvalam* (கேவலம்), solitude; *āvaraṇam* (ஆவரணம்), the screen; *tamasu* (தமசு), darkness; *paḍalam* (படலம்), the envelope; *asitti* (அசித்தி), faultiness; *nirōtham* (நிரோதம்), the impediment; *āchchāthānam* (ஆச்சாதனம்), the sheath; *sēnam* (சேணம்), the dike; *pāsam* (பீசம்), the seed—origin; *mūla-malam* (மூலமலம்), original filth [or evil].

XXII.

Development of the Organism of the Soul—Sutta-māyei, or the Five Siva-Tattuvam.

The *Nātha-Tattuvam*, organism of *Nātham* [the Male Energy] is developed from *kuḍilei*, by the coöperation of the incomprehensible *Para-Sivan's* *Parā-Satti*. From this *Nātham* is developed *Vintu-Satti*. From this *Vintu* is developed the splendid god *Nathāsivan*, with the *Sathāsiva-Tattuvam*. From this god *Sathāsivan* is developed the god *Isuran* [*Ma-yēsuran*] with his proper organism, the *Isura-Tattuvam*. *Isuran* produces the organism *Sutta-Vittei*, which holds, as its lord, the god *Ruttiran*. Thus, these five personal beings are established [in the human organism]. From this *Vintu*, when it was developed, were brought forth the four *Vākkū*, as *sūkkumei*, etc., which are declared by the learned in the

Vētham, to have had a prior existence [relatively to some things here mentioned].

This *kudīlei* is as follows. It is the *idam* (இடம்), place [region, or medium] where God enjoys [His *Satti*], and exercises His creative functions; it is pure [i. e. devoid of the characteristics of *ānava-malam*]; it is *sadam*, material; it is an acceptable companion of God [=the material cause of things produced]; since it is the chief [material] cause, it is one substance; it is diffused [in its developments] by the two classes [of *Tattuvam*], the pure and the impure [adapted to souls in different stages].

From this *kudīlei* are developed, by the coöperation of *Satti*, the five *Siva-Tattuvam*; and the five *kalei*.

The mode of operation, in these developments, is as follows. By the coöperation of *Gnānā-Satti*, *Sivam*, the first of the *Siva-Tattuvam*, is produced; by the coöperation of *Kiriyā-Satti*, the *Satti-Tattuvam* [= *Satti*] is brought forth; in the production of the *Sathāsiva-Tattuvam* both *Gnānā-* and *Kiriyā-Satti* equally coöperate; when the influence of *Gnānā-Satti* is the less, and that of *Kiriyā-Satti*, the stronger, in their instrumental agency, then the *Īsura-Tattuvam* is produced; and in the production of *Sutta-Vītei* [= the *Ruttira-Tattuvam*], the instrumental agency of *Kiriyā-Satti* is the weaker, and that of *Gnānā-Satti*, the stronger.

By the coöperation of *Gnānā-Satti*, *Nātham* is developed from *kudīlei*; and by the coöperation of *Kiriyā-Satti*, *Vintu* [the separately organized Female Energy] is developed from *Nātham*.

These four, *Sivam*, *Satti*, *Nātham*, *Vintu*, are sometimes denominated *Nidkālā-Mēni* (நிட்காலமேனி), the Disunited Forms of Deity [i. e. the two Energies separately organized]. They are also called *Ilayattānam* (இலயத்தானம்), the Dancing Place [i. e. the forms, or states, in which the two Energies coöperate].

From this *Vintu*, the four *Vākkū*, as *sūkkumei*, etc., the fifty-one letters, the seventy-millions of *Mukā-Mantiram*, the twenty-eight divine *Ākamam*, and the four *Vētham*, are produced.

The separately developed Energies, *Para-Nātham* and *Para-Vintu*, are included [in the summary statement given in the first paragraph above] in the *Siva-Tattuvam* and the *Satti-Tattuvam*.

The *Sathāsiva-Tattuvam* is a form of Sivan in which the Energies are combined, and, also, separately developed, and in which he has pleasure [in coöperation].

In this [the *Sathāsiva-Tattuvam*] are included *Apara-Nātham* and *Apara-Vintu* [a later embodiment of the Energies], and the *Anusathā-Sivangkal* (அனுசதாசிவங்கள்), a class of the *Vigngnānakalar*, which have the form of the fifty-one letters, and in which the Energies are combined in their naturally developed organs.

Isuran and the rest of the four [viz: *Ruttiran*, Vishṇu, and Brahmā] are the fully developed forms of Sivan, which unite the Energies, and are the seats of his operative powers.

In the *Isura-Tattuvam* are included the eight forms of *Isuran* [viz: earth, water, fire, time, space, sun, moon, and life].

In *Sutta-Vittei* [*Ruttiran's* organism] are included the seventy millions of *Makā-Mantiram*; the seven *mantiram*, as *viyōma-viyāpinū* (வியோமவியாபினே), etc.; the twenty-eight divine *Ākamam*; and the four *Vētham*.

When the Male Energy of Deity is embodied in either of the three divine forms, viz: the *nidkalam* (நிட்களம்), spiritual, unwedded form; the *sakala-nidkalam* (சகளநிட்களம்), both corporeal and spiritual form; or the *ēka-sakalam* (ஏகசகளம்), purely corporeal form—then, the Female Energy will be embodied in its three corresponding forms. The particulars are as follows. When the god exists in his spiritual, unwedded forms, as *Nivam* and *Nātham*, then the goddess exists in her spiritual, unwedded forms, as *Satti* and *Vintu*. When the god has both the corporeal and spiritual, as in *Sathāsivan*, then the goddess exists in her corporeal and spiritual form, as *Manōnmani* (மனோன்மணி). When the god appears in his purely corporeal forms, as in *Mayēsuran*, *Ruttiran*, Vishṇu, and Brahmā, then the goddess appears in her purely corporeal forms, as in *Makēsi* (மகேசை), *Unci* (உமை), *Tiru* (திரு), and *Vāni* (வாணி) [forms of *Satti* more commonly denominated *Makēsuvāri*, *Pārpathi*, *Lakshmi*, and *Sarasvathī*].

The explanation of the five *kalei* is as follows.

1. *Nivirti* (நிவிர்தி), deliverance. This is so named, because in this [organism] souls are delivered from the dominion of their *sangkatpam* (சங்கற்பம்), will [or passion].

2. *Pirathittei* (பிரதிட்டை), establishment—confirmation. This is so called, because souls, in this organism, are established in their freedom from *sangkatpam*.

3. *Vittiyā-kalei* (வித்தியைகலை), the organism of wisdom [or knowledge]. This is so denominated, because souls which have attained to this organism, will, on the ground of their being confirmed in their deliverance from *sangkatpam*, be illuminated by *gnānam*.

4. *Sānti-kalei* (சாந்திகலை), the state of tranquility. This is so named, because souls established in it, are, by the illumination of the *gnānam* before obtained, freed from the control of passion, so that their *vikatpa-gnānam* (விகற்பஞானம்), doubtful, unsettled minds, become *sāntam* (சாந்தம்), peaceful, tranquil.

5. *Athītha-kalei* (அதிதிகலை), the transcendental [or ineffable] state. This is so called, because here souls have not even the thought that they have passed from *vikatpam* to *sāntam*, and now exist in *paramākāsa-sorūpam* (பரமாகாச-சொரூபம்), high, ethereal forms.

NOTE.—This state of the soul seems to be that of *sampūraṇa-tisei* (see page 25, in this volume), where one's natural powers are all stayed, and where the soul bathes in the sea of light and love.

The five *kalei*, and the *puvanam*, localities, constitute the *sorūpam*, essential form [of the soul].

The four *Vākku*, the letters, the *mantiram*, the *patham*, and the twenty-eight *Ākamam*, constitute the soul's *satta-sorūpam* (சத்தசொரூபம்), vocal organism. This form is two-fold, viz: *makāmāyā-sattam* (மகாமாயாசத்தம்), and *mattam* (மத்தம்).

This explanation of the subject may be found in the *Ākamam*.

Such are the particulars of *Sutta-māyei*.

XXIII.

Development of the Human Organism continued—Asutta-māyei.

This *Māyei* has a four-fold development, viz: *tanu*, the frame-work of the body; *karaṇam*, the external, gross organs; *puvanam*, the localities; and *pōkam*, the organism of enjoyment and suffering. It is a diversified reality, in which there is a real distinction between one thing and another; it is eternal; it is one; it is never in itself visible; it is that which obscures the understanding of souls in their entanglements, as long as they are subject to *kanmam* adhering to them; it

is material; it is inert; it is diffused everywhere in the thirty-one Tattuvam [from *kalei* to the last one developed, *piruthuvi*, earth] which are developed from it; as it is the source from which all things are developed, and, in this way, is united [with souls], it is the place to which all souls must come, that these things [entangling organisms] may be dissolved at the time of destruction which is approaching; it is *malam*, an obscuring power, through which souls do not see things as they are, but are led to call a lie truth; it is firmly established [enabled to present all these phenomena] by the grace of God.

This *Asutta-mâyei* is called *Mâyei* because it deludes souls by its own *mâyam* (ωπαιω), illusive representation [itself developed, forming both the Perceptive Organs, and the objects of sense].

As the seed contains in itself the germ of the plant, so this *Mâyei* contains in itself all the Tattuvam from *kalei* to *piruthuvi* [i. e. their archetypes].

This *Mâyei*, by its objective forms [as the objects of sense, etc.], fascinates the soul, and tempts it to various passions; but, by means of its organized [or subjective] forms [which are the organs by which the soul is rendered conscious, intelligent, and active], it makes the soul to shine. This *Mâyei* is of no profit to souls in its objective forms, but in its subjective forms it is profitable; just as yarn is of no profit [as a covering], but, when developed in the form of cloth, is useful.

The creations [bodies proceeding] from this *Mâyei*, are of two kinds, viz: *stūlam*, and *sūkkumam*. *Sūkkumam* is the combination of the thirty-one Tattuvam, from *kalei* to *piruthuvi*. *Stūlam* is composed of *tanu*, the external frame; *karanam*, the external, gross organs; *puvanam*, the localities in the body; and *pōkam*, the organs through which the soul enjoys and suffers.

XXIV.

The Relation of Asutta-mâyei to the World.

The *Sivāttuvithi* will ask: What is the use of this *Mâyei*? If this *Mâyei* had no existence, there would be no foundation [no material cause] to the world. Do you ask: Is not God the material cause of the world? Matter cannot proceed from spirit; therefore, the world was not developed

from Sivan. If *Māyei* has a real existence [independent of God], why should not *Māyei* itself produce the developed forms? As *Māyei* is mere matter, it cannot of itself assume organized forms. God cannot produce any thing except by means of this *Māyei*—is then God powerless without *Māyei*? As this *Māyei*, like Himself, is eternal, God produces all things by means of it, and it is not necessary that He should make one new thing without it [as the material basis]. God is the Efficient Cause which produces all things out of *Māyei*. The learned will not say that *Māyei* imparts this power to God.

Here we are taught that *Māyei* exists, but that it cannot operate without God.

XXV.

The Influence of Kanma-malam on the Formation of the World.

The *Lōkāyathan*, worldly, Epicurean philosopher, will say: If God alone has created the world, why is it, that He has not made things of one form, instead of producing birds, beasts, and men? The learned will answer, that it [the world] was formed in accordance with the varied nature [or demands] of the *kanmam* previously acted out by souls. But the *Nirīchchuvara-Sāngkiyan* (நிர்இச்சுவரசாங்கியன்), atheistic philosopher, will say: If there previously existed a *kanmam* which showed how things were to be formed, then, what need is there of a God? As *kanmam* is merely a material accumulated evil [something to be got rid of], it could not produce bodies. Therefore, God formed these bodies, that souls might be variously embodied, and made to eat the fruit of their *kanmam*. But if there be a soul which, in one body, experiences the fruit of its previously acquired *kanmam*, could not that soul form its own body in accordance with its merits and demerits? There is no law [no principle] by which a *tiraḍchi* (திரட்டி), mere collection of material developments from *Māyei*, can be brought into such a union with the soul, which is itself destitute of understanding to direct, as God [in these matters].

NOTE.—*Tiraḍchi* is the collected power of the gross organism produced from *Māyei*—that which animates the four developments, *tanu*, bodily frame, *karaṇam*, external organs, *puvanam*, localities,

and *pōkam*, organism of experience. It is a result of organization, or development; and, therefore, it could not previously exist, and be employed by the soul in the production of body. Hence, the author argues that God alone is capable of seizing these latent powers of *Māyei* and the soul, and of bringing them forth as seen in man, and in the world.

This stanza teaches the existence of *kanmam*. But, since *kanmam* is material, and the soul a being of small understanding, the world could not have been produced by them. Therefore, there is a God who develops *Māyei* in accordance with the law of *kanmam*.

XXVI.

The Mutual Relations of the three Malam, Ānavam, Māyei and Kanmam.

Is it in order that suffering may abound, that God has given bodies to souls, to enable them to experience [to suffer and enjoy] their unknown *kanmam*? It is. Then, is it *kanma-malam*, or *māyā-malam*, which have been mentioned as distinct, that first attaches to the soul? If this implies that *malam* now comes suddenly on one who was before free from *malam*, it is not so. For *ānava-malam* is ever coexistent with soul. Then, did *māyei* and *kanmam* come into existence afterwards? No, the learned *Seivur* will say that the three are without beginning, and coexist, just as the kernel [the farinaceous part], the bran and the husk of paddy coexist.

XXVII.

The Development of the Vittiyâ-Tattuvam.

In order to the existence and expansion of desire, these five Tattuvam, viz: *kalei*, *kālam*, *niyathi*, *vittei* and *rākam*, are produced from *athō-māyei* (அதோமாயை) [a development from *kudīlei*], by the Grace [Satti] of the infinite God. The order of these developments is as follows. *Kālam* is first developed, then *niyathi*, and then *kalei*; from this *kalei*, *vittei* is developed; and from *vittei*, *rākam* is brought forth. When the soul is united with these five Tattuvam, and operates in them as designed, it receives the name of *purushan*, or *purusha-tattuvam*. So this is to be understood. *Pirakiruthi*

(பிரகிருதி) is developed from the above mentioned *kalei* by the Grace [Satti] of the god *Ruttiran*; and by the same agency, from this *pirakiruthi*, the *Kuṇam* are developed. From *avviyattam* (அவ்வியத்தம்), which is also called *mūla-pirakiruthi*, *sittam* is developed; and then *putti*. From *putti*, *akangkāram* is produced. This *akangkāram* is three-fold, viz: *teisatha-akangkāram*, *veikari-akangkāram* and *pūthāthi-akangkāram*. From the first mentioned, *teisatha-akangkāram*, is developed *manam*, which possesses the good *sāttuvīthakuṇam*, and, also, *putti*, and the Perceptive Organs.

XXVIII.

Development of the Remainder of the Thirty-six Tattuvam.

From *veikari-akangkāram* are developed the five Organs of Action, as the mouth, etc., which possess the *rāsathakuṇam*. From *pūthāthi-akangkāram* are brought forth the five Rudimental Elements, as *sattam*, etc., which possess the *tāmāthakuṇam*. From these Rudimental Elements are developed the five Elements, viz: ether, air, fire, water, and earth, one from each, in order; as, *ākāsam*, ether, from *sattam*, and so on. The five previously developed gods, *Sathāsivan*, *Mayēsuran*, *Ruttiran*, *Vishṇu* and *Brahmā*, are the lords of these Elements, according to the order here mentioned. The exalted in understanding assert that the order of the resolution of these developments is the same as that in which they are brought forth.

Such is the account of the development and resolution of *Asutta-māyei*.

XXIX.

Description of Kanma-malam.

Kanma-malam is a cause of the bodies which come forth in connection with souls; it possesses [causes souls to experience] various kinds of pleasure and pain; and is the cause of births and deaths. Some say that this *kanma-malam* comes into existence, and perishes, of itself; but it is eternal. It is manifold in its connections, extending to all souls individually; it is adapted to exist [or to become manifest] by means of the thoughts, words and deeds which are put

forth [by souls]. It possesses [affects] the *putti*, understanding, of the soul. It is the source of a two-fold acquisition [to souls], viz: *punṇiyam* (புண்ணியம்), merit, and *pāvam* (பாவம்), demerit. When developed, it always comes in connection with *Māyei*.

This is the way in which *kanma-malam* is described.

XXX.

The various Bearings of Kanma-malam on the Condition of Souls.

Kanmam operates in three ways, viz: under its influence one of good caste may be born in a lower caste; life is shortened; and the amount of pleasure and pain, which one must experience, is enlarged. These three influences, in their various bearings, attach to every soul. This [*kanmam*] does not come upon the soul arbitrarily, but in accordance with the law of fate. Nor does it cause the soul to experience precisely the same things, from stage to stage; but it varies its influence in accordance with what has gone before. It affects the soul in the shape of the three kinds of evils, viz: those which are inflicted by God; those which arise from the Elements; and those which are naturally incident to body and mind [embodied soul]. In this manner, actions and their consequences are connected together by means of spirit and matter. If we examine into the condition of souls in this world, which experience good and evil, we shall see that *kanmam* exists for the purpose of producing further births in accordance with the manner in which the soul goes through its experience [eats the fruit] of its previous actions.

The three kinds of evils mentioned above, are here specified.

1. Those which are inflicted by God [or which are results of the divine operations] are chiefly the six following, viz: sufferings in gestation; the pains of child-birth; infirmities of old age, when gray hairs and wrinkles appear; troubles which result from the innumerable purposes which are put forth and executed in ignorance; anguish experienced when *Yaman* (யமன்), the god of hell, carries off the soul; pains of hell. This class of sufferings is denominated *āthi-tēvikam* (ஆதிதேவீகம்), that which originates with God.

2. The sufferings which result from the Elements, which are exclusively external, are principally the following seven, viz: those which result from cold; those which come from great rain; those which are experienced from the severe heat of the sun; those which come from strong winds; those from thunder and lightning; those which arise from oppression among men; the evils of murder. This class is denominated *âthi-paruthikam* (ஆதிபயதிகம்), of material [or earthly] origin.

3. The sufferings incident to embodied soul [to men in their natural state] are two-fold. (1.) Those which belong to the body. These are such as are caused by rheumatic humors; bilious humors; phlegmatic humors; putrid leprosy; dropsy; fever; affection of the joints and muscles; such as arise from enemies; from wild beasts; from muskitoes, flies, etc.; from connubial union and separation; from giants; from Gurus and gods; from penance; from mental labor; and from improper conduct resulting from the abundance of riches. (2.) Those which belong to the soul. These are: mental grief; distress at the loss of friends and riches; envy and vexation on witnessing the learning and wealth of another; inordinate desire for sensual objects; anger. These two classes are denominated *âthi-âtnikam* (ஆதியாற்றமிகம்), that which originates from souls.

XXXI.

Operation of Kanmam further explained.

Thy saying: I will now eat and remove the *kanmam* which I previously acquired, operates, like an existing *kanmam*, to produce future births. For it is the pleasure or displeasure, involved in that position, which prompts* the saying. All such pleasure or displeasure now experienced, is like, is it not, the experience of *punṇiyam* and *pāvam*? For they [the Wise] will say that the exhibition of self in thy saying: I did it, or: Others did it, is a *kanmam* which will cause future birth. The actions which one performs in the world, are of two kinds, viz: actions performed without wisdom; and actions performed with true wisdom. Hence, one's *kanmam* will be both good and bad. By means of these two [operations of mind], there will arise two *kanmam*, fruits of one's conduct, called merit and demerit [which must be hereafter eaten].

XXXII.

How Kanmam may be Removed.

One *kanmam* cannot destroy another: the proper fruit of *kanmam* must unavoidably be eaten; much of *kanmam* may be removed by means of the *Ākamam* and *Vētham*. These points are here explained.

One's merit and demerit result from his thoughts, words and deeds, and are according to their character. One's acquired *kanmam* cannot be removed by either the merit or demerit of another act [i. e. one deed cannot be made to balance another of an opposite quality]. As you may know by inquiry, one cannot avoid eating [the fruit he has already gathered]. But the *Ākamam* and *Vētham* teach that, by means of certain deeds, other acts [i. e. the accumulation of *kanmam*] may be prevented. If one acts in accordance with these teachings, his acquired *kanmam* will cease [or run out]. This is a shield [which keeps off future actions] obtained by purchase. Thus one may obtain profit by purchase, as well as by action. But can one remove all *kanmam* in this way [by purchase]? If he walks constantly, and perfectly, according to the rules of the *Vētham* and *Ākamam*, many *kanmam* will be avoided. As the *kanmam* which does not thus leave one, must be eaten, the *kanmam* which is acquired in this [process] will become a bond [or fetter] to entangle the soul hereafter.

A further account of this *kanmam* [*kanma-malam*] is here subjoined. It is eternal [coëtantaneous with the soul], like the seed and the germinating plant. Moreover, it is three-fold, viz; that which is fitted to be eaten [experienced] in the visible birth [i. e. this world]; that which is fit to be eaten in the unseen birth; and that which should be eaten at some appointed time. That which is suited to this birth, comes in the shape of withering sickness, which the doctors may cure; legal punishments; distress inflicted by enemies through the instrumentality of *mantiram*; and other sorrows and joys which are experienced in this world. That *kanmam* which is adapted to be eaten in the unseen birth [or worlds], is that which must be experienced either in Indra's heaven, or in hell. That *kanmam* which must be experienced at an appointed time, is as follows. The fruit of the Horse-sacrifice,

and that of the murder of a Brâhman, may come up to be eaten by one at the same time; but, since they cannot both be eaten at the same time, God will appoint one to be eaten at some future time, and will cause the other to be experienced at once. Such deferred merit or demerit adhere to the *mâyēi* [of the soul], will be ripened [prepared for use], and eaten at the time of another creation [or birth].

The reason why both merit and demerit must be involved in one's *kaṁmam*, is the fact that both truth and falsehood combine in the cause [or motive].

A more expanded view of this subject may be obtained from the *Ākamam*.

XXXIII.

Respecting the Number of Malam.

The learned mention five *malam*. One is *āṇava-malam*, which exists from eternity, in connection with souls, so as to cause great obscurity; another is *Tirōthāna-Satti*, who stands associated with *āṇava-malam*, and prepares it for removal; another is *mâyēi*, which appears as *tanu*, the framework of the body, *karaṇam*, the external organs, *puvanam*, the localities, and *pōkam*, the powers of enjoyment and suffering; the fourth is *kaṁma-malam*, which is manifest [or expands into] merit and demerit; and, finally, the *tiraḍchi* (திரட்சி) [lit. collection, assemblage, etc.] of *Makā-Mâyēi*, which is connected with *tanu*, *karaṇam*, *puvanam* and *pōkam*, for the purpose of making them operate. These five *malam* exist as one. They will not cease of themselves. The *Arul* which will remove them, is obtained with difficulty, as those of exalted understanding will declare.

XXXIV.

The State of the Soul in its Material Abode, or Organism.

Souls which are born from their various manifold matrices, are made subject to the three *Avattei*. These the learned know under the names of *Kēvala-Avattei*, *Sakala-Avattei* and *Sutta-Avattei*.

The divine *Ākamam* teach that, when in *Kēvala-Avattei*, the soul has no use of the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam*, and has neither name nor form—has nothing except *āṇava-malam*. In this

state, it cannot understand those things which are suited to its understanding; for here the *Sutta-Tattuvam*, which are fitted to give instruction, have no connection with it. Therefore, the soul, when thus united with *āṇava-malam*, is not distinguishable from it, just as a large eye, enveloped in darkness, is as the darkness itself. It has, in itself, no way of escaping from this *āṇava-malam*, in which it is, from eternity, thus absorbed. This state is called *Kēvala-Avattei*.

XXXV.

An Objection urged, denying the Existence of Āṇava-malam.

The *Ēṭṭekiyavāthi* (ஐக்கியவாதி) and the *Pāsupathi* (பாசுபதி) [Sāiva sects] maintain that there is no such thing as *āṇava-malam* existing in the *Kēvala-Avattei*, as you assert. The two, *māyei* and *kanmam*, are realities. God Himself gives to souls [the four constituents of their material organism, viz:] *tanu*, bodily frames, *karaṇam*, gross organs, *puvanam*, localities, and *pōkam*, organs of enjoyment and suffering, in accordance with the merit and demerit which those souls acquired in former births. In this I see *māyei*. By their [souls] repeatedly going and coming, and acquiring merit and demerit, through the instrumentality of [the four developments from *Māyei*] *tanu*, *karaṇam*, *puvanam* and *pōkam*, I discover *kanmam*. In order that all the *kanmam* may be removed, God will, by His *Arul*, put an end to all, as they are duly balanced. After that, the *malam* will not touch the soul. Then the soul, as before, will become the possessor of great light. Such is the objection.

XXXVI.

The Difficulty Explained.

If *māyei* and *kanmam* both come into union with one [a soul] that was before pure [free from all entanglements], it is impossible to tell which will be first [in uniting with the soul]. For, whenever a body from *Māyei* forms a union [with the soul], it is always in accordance with [existing] *kanmam*. Therefore, it cannot be said, that *māyei* was before *kanmam*. In order to produce *kanmam*, it [the soul] must take a body; therefore, it cannot be said, that *kanmam* was first in order. This matter involves the same difficulty

which there is in deciding the question [of priority] between the palm-tree and its seed, which cannot be settled. How is it, then, that those who were pure [unentangled in *malam*] become associated with the [two] *malam* which you speak of? It is in the customary, natural way. Then, why speak of liberation, saying that these [*malam*] may quit [the soul]? Do you say, when the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam* are combined with the soul, so as to give it understanding, that they, without revealing the soul's understanding, do clearly make bodies, etc., manifest? that when these *Vittiyā-Tattuvam* have left it [the soul] in *athītham*, it will have no understanding? and that that state is one of pure ignorance? Now, that state of ignorance the exalted in understanding declare to be *āṇava-malam*.

The proof of the existence of this *malam* is given in the next stanza.

XXXVII.

The Existence of Āṇava-malam Proved.

Because thou [the soul] art ignorant of the *gnānam* [= *Arul*] which exists complete, as not other than thyself, and which, until *āṇava-malam* is matured [cancelled], makes children, friends, etc., who are not real, like thyself, appear as realities; and because, when that *Arul* [= *gnānam*] unites with thee [shines in its true light], then thou understandest thine old nature in which God Himself exists as all [the sole source of understanding, action, etc.]—therefore, until that *Arul* shines forth, *āṇava-malam* holds such a position that the soul cannot know any thing of its own existence. *Māyei* and *kanmam* will change as to their connection [with the soul], leaving and returning. But as this *āṇava-malam* is coexistent with the soul, it will not, like *māyei* and *kanmam*, leave and again seize upon it. Therefore, none could know that *āṇava-malam* exists, without that *Arul* which the mind cannot grasp; and, hence, thou [the objector] couldest not know its truth.

XXXVIII.

The Removal of Āṇava-malam.

In order to the removal of the *āṇava-malam* mentioned above, God has, from eternity, graciously joined with souls

kalei and other Tattuvam, and *Māyei*, which is prior to them [i. e. the elemental Tattuvam, which are afterwards developed, are from eternity in connection with souls]. The way in which the wisdom [or understanding] of the soul shines forth, by means of the pure, the mixed, and the impure Tattuvam, which are of a nature different [from that of soul], is like the lamp's shining by means of the oil, the wick, the vessel which contains these, and the stick which supports the whole. To prevent souls associating with [being illumined by] the *Arul* with which they are in connection, *āṇava-mālam* shrouds them in darkness. If one examines and understands *āṇava-mālam* and *māyei*, which thus contend with each other, he will see that they are like darkness and light. That [*āṇava-mālam*] which thus gives place [to the light of the Tattuvam], holds this relation to them from eternity—[it can be removed in no other way].

NOTE.—The author having thus presented the doctrine of the soul's connection with *āṇava-mālam* and *māyei*, from eternity, and the necessity of its being brought forth into action in its developed organism, in order to its emancipation from the bondage of *āṇava-mālam*, he next proceeds to describe this organism, stating the order in which the Tattuvam are developed, their mutual relations, their functions, etc. These specifications extend through several stanzas. Those who are interested to understand this department of Hindūism, will do well to compare these statements with what has been presented on this subject in Articles I. and II. of this volume.

Again, the way in which the four *Vākku*, as *sūkkumām* [*sūkkumei*] etc., are developed and operate, is as follows. *Sūkkuma-vākku* is developed from *Vintu-Satti*, which shines in *mūlāthāram* [= *turiyāthūtham*]. This [*vākku*] passes into *turiyam* [the second of the Ascending States of the soul], and there, by the nature of the soul, becomes a *Nātham*, and, also, a lamp, and the indescribable *arivu*, undeveloped understanding [to the soul].

In the last four stanzas, the existence of *āṇava-mālam* is proved—the objections being stated and answered.

XXXIX.

Development of the Vākku completed.

Peisanti-vākku is developed from *sūkkuma-vākku*, in *turiyam*, and passes into *suḷutti*, the next *Avattei* above. Here

it contains in itself the archetypes from whence are developed the various letters [of the Sanskrit alphabet]. It contains these letters [in their archetypes or germs] which cannot be apprehended by *putti*, and which are without any vocal distinction; and, concealing the way in which the forms of the several letters are developed, it becomes, in *sittam*, *arivu*, understanding [to the soul], just as the peacock [with the five radical colors] is formed in the egg, of which the fluid mass possessed the germ, and principle of vivification. *Mattinei* [*mattina-vāḱku*], uniting with *pirāṇa-vāyu* [in *śulutti*, the region of the heart], by the aid of *putti* develops, in their order, the forms of the letters and their respective powers, and then, passing upwards, without the ear's perceiving it [i. e. not yet possessing the function of hearing], stands in the neck [*soppanam*] and gives the perception of sound within [to the soul]. With *veikari-vāḱku* are joined *uthāna-vāyu*, and, also, *pirāṇa-vāyu*; then, when a sound is heard by the organ of the ear, this *veikari* will speak [cause one to speak] the sound which was perceived [it secures to one the power of speech].

These *Vāḱku*, in the *Sutta-attuvā* (சுத்தாத்துவா), Pure *Attuvā*, live as *sūḱkuma-tēkam*; in the *Misira-attuvā* (மிசிராத்துவா), Mixed *Attuvā*, they live as *stūla-tēkam*; and in the *Asutta-Attuvā* (அசுத்தாத்துவா), Impure *Attuvā*, they live as very gross *stūla-tēkam*.

NOTE.—For an explanation of the *Attuvā*, see stanza X. above, and note appended to this article. The three conditions of the *Attuvā* here specified, each of which is a system, or connected set, of *Tattuvam*, seem to depend on the stage of development, and on the relative influence, of the three classes of Primary *Tattuvam*, the *Siva*-, the *Vittiya*-, and the *Āttuma-Tattuvam*.

XL.

The Way in which the Soul is rendered Intelligent.

In this way [as follows], the learned say, will *gnānam*, which is fitted to shine by the agency of *Sutta-Vittei* and the rest of the five [*Siva-Tattuvam*], and which is spoken out by means of the four *Vāḱku*, unite, through the grace of God, permanently [with the soul], instead of the *arivu* by which souls [naturally] understand. The *kalei* which is developed from *Asutta-māyei*, removes a little *āṇava-malum*, and points

out the way in which the soul's *Kiriyâ-Satti* comes into an operative connection with it. When *putti* seizes the sensations [objects of the Perceptive Organs] which are had by the aid of *manam*, and hands them over to *vittei*, then *vittei*, standing between *âtuma-gnânam* and *putti*, comes [with them to the soul], instead of the soul's apprehending them itself. But do not these [powers] themselves perform these functions? The *Satti* of the pure one [Sivan] comes and stands in union with them, and effects these results.

A further explanation of *kalei* and *vittei* is here subjoined. Inasmuch as *kalei* is an invisible power of the soul, it stands as the basis for its experience of pleasure and pain. As the earthen vessel, when heated in the fire, becomes prepared for union with wax, so the soul, when in union with *kalei*, becomes fitted to experience pleasure and pain [according to its *kanmam*].

When *kalei* has removed a little *âṇava-malam*, and caused the soul's *Kiriyâ-Satti* to shine [operate], then *Gnâna-Satti* is also made manifest; yet, because this *Gnâna-Satti* cannot apprehend the objects of sense without the instrumentality of one of the Organs, this *Vittiyâ-Tattuvam* [= *vittei*] is developed from *kalei*, in order that the *Gnâna-Satti* may be able to perceive objects of sense. When the soul, in union with the Perceptive Organs, perceives *sattam*, and the other Rudimental Elements, then, *putti* is the instrument. When the soul apprehends the objects perceived by [or united in] *putti*, then, *vittei* is the instrument.

Herein is explained how, by the aid of the four *Vâkku*, the five *Siva-Tattuvam* give understanding to the soul, and, also, the functional effects of *kalei* and *vittei*.

XLI.

Respecting three of the Vittiyâ-Tattuvam, viz: Râkam, Niyathi and Kâlam.

Râkam, difficult to be described, will stand [or exist] in what souls have acquired, instead of the *kanmam* which they produce, and will create [in them] a desire for what they have not yet obtained. *Niyathi* will determine, and make sure to souls, their respective *kanmam*, which they have each performed with love or desire; just as kings,

who rule firmly, enforce their own laws, and cause each person to receive exactly in accordance with the character of his own doings. *Kālam*, which is usually spoken of as three-fold, *chel-kālam*, past time, *varu-kālam*, future time, and *nikal-kālam*, present time, will attach [to souls] the limit [results] of past time, the fruit of present time, and whatever is new in future time. God's *Satti* coöperates in these things.

Here follows a further explanation of *rākam*, *niyathi* and *kālam*.

In order that there may arise to souls, whose *Kiriyā-Satti* is illuminated by *kalei*, and whose *Gnāna-Satti* is illuminated by *vittei*, a desire [relish] for the pleasures of sense, *rākam* is developed from *kalei*. Is the Tattuvam *rakam* needed, or will the objects of sense themselves create this desire? The objects of sense will not themselves create this desire; because, though old men recognize these objects distinctly, yet they have no relish for them [i. e. for those objects or pleasures which the sensualist delights in]. Then, will not that dislike [to *malam*] which is food to *putti*, create this desire? That [dislike] is the grief [affliction] of *putti*; therefore, it will not lead the soul to sensual and other pleasures. It is like the offensive smell in the dish from which *asafætida* has been removed, and which cannot be put to any use. That being the case, will not that grief [of *putti*] produce desire [relish for carnal pleasure]? It does not possess it [that quality or power]. For, in that case, those [afflictions], operating separately, at one time, would produce endless desires. These a person could not at once understand. Therefore, the *rāka-tattuvam* is necessary to excite desire.

Explanation of the *niyathi-tattuvam*.

If *niyathi* had no existence, then one would be liable to experience the *kanmam* of another; just as, in the time of anarchy, the strong will carry off the crop which another has produced. But is *niyathi* necessary? Will not *kanmam* itself determine [or order this matter]? *Kanmam* gives pleasure and pain; beside this, it determines nothing. Will not the *Satti* of Sivan [*Siva-Satti*] determine [the experience of souls]? She produces no effects [in man], except through the instrumentality of some Tattuvam. If she could direct these matters, there would be no need of other Tattuvam.

Therefore, *niyathi* is necessary to control. That which establishes, and causes one to experience, arthritis and other existing diseases, which remove desire [or relish] from one, is *niyathi*.

Explanation of *kālam*.

Kālam, time, causes the existence of youth, childhood and age; and births and deaths do not exist except in *kālam*; and the fruits [or products] of the six seasons, have no existence except in *kālam*. Therefore, the *Sīrvākan* (சார்வாகன்), sceptic, and the *Puttan* (புத்தன்), Buddhist, who deny the existence of *kālam*, are here confuted.

Because this *kālam*, according as it directs the things of the world, exists in the three-fold state of past, future, and present; therefore, the *Niyāyikan* (நையாயிகன்) [= *Niyāya-Sāstiri*] and the *Veisēshikan* (வைசேஷிகன்), who assert that *kālam* is eternal, are here confuted. For that which is eternal must be one; and that which is material and many [composed of parts], like earthen vessels, is perishable.

Because this *kālam* controls events in union with *Siva-Satti*, the *Kātesuravāthi* (காடேசுரவாதி) [who hold that *kālam* is God] are confuted; for what is material cannot itself operate.

The *Ākamam* teach that, when the *Tattuvam* are developed, *kalei* is developed after *kālam* and *niyathi*; yet, in this work, when the development of the *Tattuvam* is mentioned, *kalei* is mentioned first. The reason of this is, that no effect can be produced unless *kalei* first partially removes *āṇava-malam*, and causes the *Kiriyā-Satti* of the soul to shine.

Such are the functions of the three *Tattuvam*, *kālam*, *niyathi* and *rākam*.

XLII.

Respecting Purushan, Pirakiruthi, and the Mukkuṇam.

When the soul is bound in the five [*Vittiyā-Tattuvam*], as *kalei*, etc., and comes to experience sound and the other objects of the Perceptive Organs, the learned in the *Ākamam* denominate it *purusha-tattuvam* [= *purushan*]. When one, in the excellent *nirvāṇa-tiḍchei* [= *gnānā-'vuttiri*, see stanza X.], has explored [understood and renounced] *vittiyā-kalei* [= *vitlei*, one of the five *kalei*; see stanza X. and note

appended to this article], and when he has examined the five *Vittiyā-Tattuvam*, as *kalei*, etc., then *purusha-tattuvam*, also, is examined, as the desired *Ākamam* declare. The *Mukkuṇam*, Three *Kuṇam*, are developed from *pirakiruthi*, which produces [or constitutes] the *avviyattam*, in which the distinction of the [Three] *Kuṇam* does not exist, and from which is developed the class of powers which give instruction to souls [the *Antakaraṇam*, Intellectual Organic Faculties]. In this way they [the learned] distinguish the *Mukkuṇam*, viz: *sāttuvika-kuṇam*, *rāsatha-kuṇam*, and *tāmatha-kuṇam*. With each of these, two other *Kuṇam* are united.

NOTE.—The soul bears the name of *purushan* only while in this particular *Tattuvam*, where it is subject to the first five *Vittiyā-Tattuvam*. When it has escaped from this entanglement—passed through the six *Attuvā* (see stanza X.), it will have thrown off the dress of *purushan*, and received that of *Siva-Rūpam*, and will thus become a *Sivam*.

Further explanation of *pirakiruthi*.

The *Sāngkiyar* assert that the *Tattuvam Kuṇam*, which is the cause of *putti*, is *avviyattam*. That is not correct; for [in that case], since there are several *Kuṇam*, there would be but one effect [from several causes]. *Pirakiruthi*, which is the sole cause of these [*Kuṇam*], is *avviyattam*. The *Sāngkiyar* maintain that *pirakiruthi* is eternal. But that is not correct; for, as it is multifariously varied among all classes of souls, it is not eternal [is perishable] like an earthen vessel. Hence, its cause [or source] is *Māyei*.

Herein are mentioned the function of *purusha-tattuvam*, the nature of *pirakiruthi*, and the way in which the *Mukkuṇam* are developed.

XLIII.

Respecting the two subordinate Kuṇam developed from each of the Three Kuṇam.

One of the [Three] *Kuṇam*, which are incalculably rich in developments, is *sāttuvikam*. This combines in itself *pirakāsam* (பிரகாசம்) [= *gnānam*], light, and *lakuthei* (இலகுவை), meekness [or gentleness] in thought, word and deed. Another is *rāsatham*. This includes *viyāpiruthi* (வியாபிருதி),

great propensity to worldly occupation, which completely pervades the thoughts, words and deeds; and *adarchchi* (அடர்ச்சி), cruelty [or a severity of manner and temper manifested] in thought, word and deed. The other is *tāmatham*. This involves in itself *kavuravam* (கவுரவம்), great arrogance, that egotistic pride which leads one to say: There are none so great as I; and *anniyam* (அன்னியம்), strangeness, a propensity to do what is not proper. Thus, the six *Kuṇam* here specified, unite with the *Mukkuṇam* in their proper order, so as to complete the [three] classes. These nine *Kuṇam*, which sow the seeds of pleasure and pain, are in connection with every soul.

Sātturikam, one of the *Mukkuṇam*, is an unfailing light, and, coöperating [with the soul], is ever active in causing it to experience pleasure and pain [the fruit of its *kanmam*]. *Rāsatham* carries with it the propensity to worldly occupation, which is the sphere in which the soul receives those pleasures that are usually praised [desired]. *Tāmatham* receives and holds all the various objects of sense that crowd upon one [gives a relish for them, and brings the soul under their influence]. *Putti* has that connection [with the soul] which makes sure [gives a distinct idea of] the innumerable objects of sense, and has the way of presenting them [to the soul] in many relations; and, by the grace of God, it develops the fifty *pīvakam* (பிவகம்) [= *tāṭam* (தோற்றம்)], developments.

Again, we here give a further explanation of the *Kuṇam*, and of *putti*.

It is stated in the *Ākamam*, that the variations of the Three *Kuṇam* are manifold. The products [effects] which are natural to *sātturikam*, are the following, viz: courage; firm command; uprightness; lightness; joy; meekness; cleanness; concord; restraint; well-doing; diligence; mildness; grace; mercy; and many more. The operations natural to *rāsatham* are the following, viz: cruelty; robbery; effort at greatness; haughtiness; disquietude; creativeness; destitution of grace; changefulness; arrogance; and many more. The natural operations of *tāmatham*, are the following, viz: narrow-mindedness; great wickedness; calumny; arrogance; drowsiness; laziness; dislike; stupidity; and many more.

The *Mukkuṇam* are mixed one with another [i. e. each contains the three], making *sāttuvikam* of *sāttuvikam*; *rāsatham* of *sāttuvikam*; *tāmatham* of *sāttuvikam*, and so on. *Sāttuvikam* of *sāttuvikam* dreads famine, and has great eagerness for wealth. *Rāsatham* of *sāttuvikam* strives for *putti*, liberation, while it prompts to renounce family, and embrace the Ganges [i. e. leads to ascetic life]. *Tāmatham* of *sāttuvikam* includes desire and effort in the heavenly way, without renouncing family and embracing the Ganges. *Rāsatham* of *rāsatham* is a propensity to be at work without cessation, united with a desire for action [*kanmam*]. *Sāttuvikam* of *rāsatham* gives alms, with grace [or kindness] to every body. *Tāmatham* of *rāsatham* contemns these things, and leads to wicked conduct. *Tāmatham* of *tāmatham* includes mental delusion, contempt, sin, lust, fear, and sadness. *Rāsatham* of *tāmatham* does what ought not to be done, eats what ought not to be eaten, is merry, and easily displeased. *Sāttuvikam* of *tāmatham* leads to the worship of the lesser gods, who operate as mentioned in the *Ākamam* and *Vētham*.

It is thus, that *Kuṇam* is said to be without number, because it possesses the nature of being infinitely expanded.

A further explanation of *putti*.

Avviyattam is that state [of *pirakirutli*] in which the Three *Kuṇam* lie undeveloped, like the seed [or germ] of the plant in the bud. Another state of the *Kuṇa-tattuvam* is that in which they exist developed as three, but equal and without jarring, just as the *mangkuram* (மங்குரம்) is developed from the germ in the bud. The diversified *Kuṇam* exist in different proportions in *putti* and other *Tattuvam*. In *putti*, *rāsatham* and *tāmatham* are subordinated, and *sāttuvika-kuṇam* is predominant. The effects of *putti* are ten, viz: *tanmam* (தன்மம்), charity; *gnānam*, wisdom; *veirākkiyam* (வைராக்கியம்), disregard to worldly things; *eisuvariyam* (ஐசுவரியம்), prosperity; *atunmam* (அதன்மம்), want of charity, injustice; *agnnānam* (அஞ்ஞானம்), want of wisdom; *aveirākkiyam* (அவைராக்கியம்), passion for the world; *aneisuvariyam* (அனைசுவரியம்), poverty. From this *tanmam* are developed ten *pāvakam*. From *gnānam* arise one hundred and eighty *pāvakam*. From *veirākkiyam*, sixty-four *pāvakam* arise. From *eisuvariyam* arise one hundred and seventy-six *pāvakam*, which are called *panchatti* (பஞ்சத்தி).

From *atanmam* are developed ten *pāvakam*. From *agnnānam* spring sixty-four *pāvakam*. From *aveirākkiyam* spring one hundred *pāvakam*. From *aneisuvariyam* are produced eight *pāvakam*. The *pāvakam* of *putti* amount to one hundred and fourteen. Thus, according to what is said in the *Ākamam*, the *pāvakam* of *putti* include six hundred and fourteen varieties. How, then, is it, that in this work the number of the *pāvakam* of *putti*, is stated [as above] to be fifty? This is in accordance with an explanation given in some of the *Ākamam*, in which fifty particulars, included in the expression "*pagnchāsut-pāvakam*," are mentioned as the products of *putti*. [These include several of the *Tattuvam*, various spiritual or supernatural developments, and other things, natural and fanciful.] Moreover, the six hundred and fourteen varieties of *pāvakam* are included in the succinct expression, "*pagnchāsut-pāvakam*."

Thus are enumerated the products [effects] of the *Kūṇam*, and also the products of *putti*.

XLIV.

Respecting Akangkâram, Manam and Sittam.

Akangkâram possesses the principle which leads one to feel that there is no other one in the world equal to himself, and is the seed of never failing pride; it also directs the course of *pirāṇa-vāyu*, which exists in the body that was formed for [in accordance with] *kanmam*. *Manam* is that which is necessary, whenever [the soul] tastes the objects of sense by means of the Perceptive Organs, to complete the effect [of such objects], which they themselves could not do. This it accomplishes by assuming the form of desire, which goes before and unites with those objects [secures attention to them]; and thus it always gives a clear, distinct impression. *Sittam* is only thought. It is not correct to distinguish this *sittam* as different from *manam* which comes and causes doubt [i. e. gives sensation complete, but does not give full perception of an object].

Further explanation of *akangkâram* and *manam*.

The function of *akangkâram* is three-fold, viz: *śivanam* (சீவனம்), that which receives [gives appetite for] food, drink, etc.; *sangkirapam* (சங்கிரபம்), that which decides in every thing [choice, volition]; *keruvam* (கெடுவம்), that which says:

Nobody like me. It is the business of both *putti* and *akangkâram* to make sure [to determine]. Is *akangkâram*, then, necessary?—does not *putti* embrace it? They are distinct. *Putti* is that which discriminates [gives distinct ideas of] objects presented in sensations. *Akangkâram*, by means of *putti*, certifies [the soul] respecting things without; and the objects perceived within [or ideas obtained], it unites with the soul [appropriates to the soul], and makes one feel sure that he ate, that he did, etc.

Manam has two functions. One is, to stand within and produce *sangkatpam* (சங்கற்பம்), attention, and *vikatpam* (விகற்பம்), discrimination; the other is, to stand without, and give the power of sensation to the Perceptive Organs. The operation of *sangkatpam* is as follows. Though one of the Perceptive Organs, an object of sense, and the soul, be united on one point, yet, if *manam* inclines to another object, the Perceptive Organ will have no action [receive no impression]. *Manam* secures functional power [or action] to these Organs.

In some of the *Âkamam*, four *Antakaraṇam* are mentioned. In some of the *Âkamam*, *manam* and *sittam* are declared not to be distinct.

Herein, *akangkâram*, *manam* and *sittam*, are explained.

XLV.

Respecting the Perceptive Organs, and the Organs of Action.

The Rudimental Elements, *sattam*, *parisam*, *rūpam*, *rasam* and *kantam*, come to the five Perceptive Organs [in sensations], as objects fitted to be joined with them [archetypal forms of external objects, necessary to sensation]. The Five Vital Airs, *vasanam*, *kemanam*, *tānam*, *vikatpam* and *ānan-tam*, are the means by which, respectively, the Organs of Action perform their functions.

Further explanation of the Perceptive Organs.

Are these Perceptive Organs necessary? Since the five [Organs], as the ear, etc., receive their appropriate objects, and since these objects [in the sense in which they are apprehended—as Rudimental Elements] are the *Kuṇam*, essential properties, of the five gross Elements; therefore, the Elements themselves constitute the eye and other Organs, and apprehend the objects of sense which are their essential

properties. There is, therefore, no necessity for the Perceptive Organs. So say the *Sārvākan* and *Niyāya-Veisēshikan*. Now, if the Elements are the Perceptive Organs, they [the Organs] should perceive only their own respective *Kuṇam*. But it is not so. These Organs discriminate [perceive] other Elements than their own, and their *Kuṇam*, and the *kanmam* which are going and coming, and the various kinds of good, and the essential and eternal relation of the *Kuṇam*, attribute [or essential property], and *Kuṇi* (குணி), subject. Therefore, the Perceptive Organs are not effects of the Elements [elemental phenomena].

Further explanation of the Organs of Action.

Because there is the performance of actions, such as speaking, etc., there must be Organs of Action. Where there is no Organ of Action, there is no operation. But, if action is the *ēthu*, reason [proof] of the existence of Organs of Action, then, the twitching of the eye-brow, etc., as it is an action, must have for itself an Organ of Action. Thus, thou must admit many Organs of Action. So says the *Sārvākan*. As the sense of touch pervades the whole body, so all these Organs pervade the whole body. Hence, the twitching of the eye-brows, and all such actions, thou mayest know, are the effects [or proper work] of the *pāṇi*, or other Organs. Since these [Organs] are conjoined with action, they are called [Organs of] *kanmam*, action [*Kanmēntiriyam*].

XLVI.

Respecting the five Elements.

The before-mentioned five Elements, as *ākāsam*, etc., constitute the bases of the five Perceptive Organs, as *sōttiram*, etc., and shine in bodies with which souls have been united according to their respective *kanmam*, as the way [or means] by which souls apprehend the five *vishayam* (விஷயம்), sensible images [the Rudimental Elements] which are essentially united in these bases [the Elements]. In reference to the way in which these Elements live and operate, in external things: *ākāsam* furnishes the basis [or locality] in which all the Elements unite, and is continuous, without interstices; *vāyu* possesses great mobility, and unites the whole; *tēyu* possesses heat, and burns and brings all things into the same form; *appu* is cool, and softens; *piruthuvi* is hard, and supports every thing.

Further explanation of the Elements.

The *Veisēshikan* and others say that sound is the property of *ākāsam* only; that it does not belong to the other four Elements; and that there is no sound, except that which exists by the proper action of *ākāsam*. Now, since a diversity of sound is distinctly heard; as, the echo in *ākāsam*, ether; rustling, etc., in *vāyu*, air; crackling, etc., in *tēyu*, fire; dashing, etc., in *appu*, water; rattling, etc., in *piruthuvi*, earth; and since, in the *Ākamam*, sound is ascribed to the five Elements, therefore, his [the *Veisēshikan*'s] statement is not true.

Touch is the property of four Elements [*ākāsam* being excepted]. To *piruthuvi* and *vāyu* belong touch, heat and cold; to *tēyu*, touch and heat; to *appu*, touch and cold. Form [visibility] is the property of *tēyu*, *appu* and *piruthuvi*. The form of *tēyu* is red and shining; the form of *appu* is whiteness; and the form of *piruthuvi* is that of whiteness, and many other forms, the most important of which is that of gold. *Appu* and *piruthuvi* possess the property of taste. *Appu* has one taste, sweetness; and *piruthuvi* has six [viz: bitterness, sweetness, sourness, saltiness, harshness or ascerbity, and pungency]. *Piruthuvi* also possesses good and bad smell. These things may be found in many of the *Ākamam*.

In the last two stanzas, twenty-five of the *Tattuvam* are explained, viz: the Elements, the Perceptive Organs, the Five Vital Airs, the Organs of Action, and the Rudimental Elements.

XLVII.

Condition of the Soul in its Organism.

This organism [of the soul] may be considered as composed of thirty-six *Tattuvam*. Of these, the five *Siva-Tattuvam* are called *Sutta-Tattuvam*, Pure *Tattuvam*; the seven *Vittiṃyā-Tattuvam* are called *Suttāsutta-Tattuvam*, both Pure and Impure *Tattuvam*; and the twenty-four *Āttuma-Tattuvam* are called *Asutta-Tattuvam*, Impure *Tattuvam*. The soul stands in the midst of these *Tattuvam*, which hold it firmly, fascinate and bewilder it. When this entanglement of the body, with which the soul is united in great sorrow, comes to be dissolved, then, the soul will leave its *stūla-tēkam*, and

pass away with its *sūkkuma-tēkam*, just as the snake leaves its entire skin with which it has been clothed. An analogical proof that the soul leaves and disregards the body with which it has been familiar, is had in the manner in which oviparous animals leave their eggs [egg-shells]. An illustrative proof that the soul has no knowledge, in its *sūkkuma-tēkam*, of what it has done in its *stūla-tēkam*, is had in the fact that one forgets, in sleep, what he has done when awake.

The intrinsic qualities of the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam*, which have been mentioned in connection with the *stūla-tēkam*, will be united also with the *sūkkuma-tēkam*. The divine *Ākamam* teach that souls, having been united with bodies which are formed in accordance with their *kanmam*, and having gone through their required experience [in heaven, hell, or elsewhere, according to their *kanmam*], will, by the grace of God, return again to the earth.

Here we have a summary account of the *Tattuvam*, of the soul's connection with them, and of its leaving and taking bodies.

XIVIII.

Of the Four Orders of Beings, and the Number of their Matrices.

There are four orders of developed beings, viz: the egg-born; the sweat-born; the seed-born; the womb-born. these, there are, of immovable things, one million, nine hundred thousand varieties; of creeping things, one million five hundred thousand; of gods, one million one hundred thousand; of things from water, one million; of flying things, one million; of four-footed things, one million; of human beings, nine hundred thousand. These are the several classes usually mentioned. These require, all together, eight million four hundred thousand matrices. These are all the matrices.

The last ten stanzas treat of matters belonging to the *Sakala-Avattei*.

XIIX.

Of the Soul in the Sakala-Avattei.

That state of the soul in which it passes through the above mentioned matrices, by deaths and births, and in which, by God's direction, it receives and experiences its *punnīyam*

and *pāvam*, merit and demerit, is *Sakala-Avattei*. The soul must eat, at one time, the two results [of its *kanmam*], *pun-
niyam* and *pāvam*, which connect with former births that never let go this *Sakala-Avattei*. The fruit resulting from eating [experience of good and evil] in former births, is called *saguchitham*; *pirārattam* is that fruit [of *kanmam*] which is now ready to be eaten and ended; *ākāmiyam* is that fruit which arises while one is eating [while he is passing through the experience of *pirārattam*]. These three *kanmam* will leave one, by the aid of Sivan who makes them to cease. Accordingly, when they [these three] are equally balanced, then, *Arul* herself, who is called *Tirōtna-
Satti*, a name distinctive of her character in which she possesses anger that she had not from eternity, and, as long as there exists *kanmam* to be cancelled, obscures souls so that they cannot see Sivan, and leaves them in *narakam* (நரகம்), hell, or *svathkam* (சுவற்கம்), the paradise of Indra—[then *Arul*] will graciously unite herself with souls, in order to give them salvation [final deliverance from *kanmam*]. The good *Satti-nipātham* (சத்திநிபாதம்) will then shine.

This stanza explains the operation of *Sakala-Avattei*, the three kinds of *kanmam*, the balancing of the *kanmam* for their removal, and the great grace of *Arul*.

L.

Deliverance of the Soul from the Bondage of its Organism, including a View of the Satti-nipātham and Sutta-Avattei.

The *Satti-nipātham*, which is worthy to be sought, is of four kinds [or degrees, according to the stage which the disciple has attained to]. The way in which it possesses these [different characters] is by the *Sutta-Avattei*, which is that [condition of the human organism] in which God, the possessor of *gnāna-nadam* (ஞானநடம்), the wisdom-dance, who stands as the *arivu*, understanding, of those who are fitted to enter the unspeakable *gnāna-pātham*, stage of *gnānam*, will appear in a divine form, and establish the soul in *Arul*, so that the *Kēvala-Avattei*, in which is great delusion, and the *Sakala-Avattei*, in which there is great uncertainty and error, may not adhere to it—the state in which He will remove the *malam*. The *Sāstiram* require that these things

be made known to those who have passed through the three stages, *saritheī*, *kirikeī* and *yōkam*, which give spotless fame.

The four *Satti-nipātham* are as follows.

When souls secure, by means of the charity, and other good deeds, performed through a succession of births, an adjustment of their *kanmam*, and, by the removal of *malam*, are prepared for deliverance, then, the *Satti-nipātham* of Sivan exists [i. e. Sivan's *Satti* will change her form, and reveal herself, in accordance with the state and wants of the soul as it advances in the divine life]. This [*Satti-nipātham*] is four-fold. These distinctions, which depend on the regular and successive stages of preparation by the removal of the *malam*, are marked by the following terms, viz: *mantam* (மந்தம்), slow; *mantataram* (மந்ததரம்), more slow; *tiviram* (திவிரம்), rapid; *tivrataram* (திவிரதரம்), more rapid.

NOTE.—*Taram*, as here used, is a termination borrowed from the Sanskrit, making the comparative degree. It is by the aid of *Satti* in her varied forms, called *Satti-nipātham*, that the soul makes this advancement in preparation for final deliverance, complete redemption.

The fruit of this *Satti-nipātham*, is as follows. In the three stages, *saritheī*, *kirikeī* and *yōkam*, it gradually purifies the words, thoughts and conduct, and fits the soul for [the course in] *gnānam*. He who possesses *mantā-Satti-nipātham* is distinguished for his piety and devotion in the sacred temples, and with his priest. Then Sivan, abiding in the skillful priest, will administer to him *samaya-tīdcheī*, the initiatory sacrament, and conform his words, mind and conduct to the appropriate work of *saritheī*.

At the completion of this stage of *saritheī*, *mantatara-Satti-nipātham* arises. This is as follows. Here comes up, in connection with *saritheī*, which possesses the piety above mentioned, a *gnānam* which says that *Siva-pūsei* (சிவபூசை), worship of Sivan, must be performed [prompts the disciple to the performance of *Siva-pūsei*]. Then Sivan, abiding in the teaching priest, will administer *visēsha-tīdcheī*, the confirmatory sacrament, and will make known to the disciple that method of worshipping Sivan [= *Siva-pūsei*] which involves *pagncha-sutti* (பஞ்சசுத்தி), the five purifications, and thus shape his words, mind and acts to the spiritual and external performance of *pūsei*. This is *mantataram* [*mantatara-Satti-nipātham*].

NOTE.—The *pāṇchā-sutti* are five purifying ceremonies which form a part of every *pūsei*. These are: 1. *Tēka-sutti* (தேகசுத்தி), purification of the body. This is effected by bathing, and the use of certain *mantiram*. 2. *Ātuma-sutti* (ஆத்துமசுத்தி), purification of the soul, or mind, preparatory to other service. This ceremony consists, chiefly, in the suppression of the breath, and in the mental repetition of *mantiram*. 3. *Tiraviya-sutti* (திரவியசுத்தி), the cleansing of utensils, and of flowers and other offerings. This is done by sprinkling water, by repeating *mantiram*, etc. 4. *Lingka-sutti* (இலிங்கசுத்தி), the purifying ceremony to *Siva-lingam*, in the temple. This consists in removing the old flowers, etc., with which the sacred emblem has been adorned, bathing and anointing it, and in applying fresh flowers and other offerings, with the appropriate *mantiram*. 5. *Mantira-sutti* (மந்திரசுத்தி), purifying by the use of the *pāṇchākṣaram*, in certain forms. In this case, the first three letters, *a*, *u*, *m*, in the form of *Om*, are prefixed to all the several formulas used; and all the letters, *na*, *ma*, *si*, *vā*, *ya*, the last developed form of these mysterious symbols, are changed in their relative positions, and affixed to the formulas: thus, *Sivāya nama*, meaning, I worship Sivan.

This *kirikei*-course being completed, *tivira-Satti-nipātham* arises. This is as follows. He [Sivan in the Guru] will make known [to the disciple] the real meaning of the *ashdāṅka-yōkam* (அஷ்டாங்கயோகம்), the eight observances of the *Yōki*, will make him renounce, as very bad, the six sensual passions, namely, *kanmam*, lust [hatred, avarice, sensuality, madness or anger, and envy], will fix his attention in meditation, and will cause him to be absorbed in *samāthi*, abstract meditation. This is *tiviram* [*tivira-Satti-nipātham*].

NOTE.—The *ashdāṅka-yōkam* are eight essential parts of the form of worship which the regular *Yōki* must practice. These eight parts are as follows.

1. *Yamam* (இயமம்), refraining from all carnal appetites, from lust, covetousness, theft, murder, and lying; and subduing the senses.

2. *Niyamam* (நியமம்), voluntary observances, as those of penance, purity, and study and meditation on the *Tattuvam*; the worship of the gods; and the cultivation of a cheerful mind.

3. *Āthanam* (ஆதனம்), position in meditation. This involves various uses of the hands and feet, for closing the orifices of the body, and for other purposes which are indicated by the esoteric doctrines of Hindū anthropology.

4. *Pirāṇāyāmam* (பிராணாயாமம்), ceremonial breathing. In this, three particulars are regarded, viz: *rēsakam* (இரேசகம்), the act of exhaling breath by one nostril; *pūrakam* (பூரகம்), the act of inhaling by the other nostril; *kumpakam* (கும்பகம்), the act of suppressing the breath, either when exhaled or inhaled.

5. *Pirattiyākāram* (பிரத்தியாகாரம்), becoming insensible to pain, and being absorbed in meditation.

6. *Tāraṇei* (தாரணை), the act of fixing the mind on one of the five divine seats in the human body, looking for a vision of God.

7. *Tiyānam* (தியானம்), meditation. This consists in abstracting the mind from all sensible objects, and fixing it on Sivan, as in one of the five positions in the body.

8. *Samāthi* (சமாதி), the vision of one's self. In this state, the soul is free from the influence of the senses, from all bodily appetites and passions, though it still exists in the body, and is the life of the Perceptive Organs. This vision of one's self is obtained by divine illumination, secured by means of the *ashḍāṅka-yōkam*, and the illumination of *tivira-Satti-nipātham*.

On the completion of *sarīthēi*, *kirikei* and *yōkam*, the rites of which have been thus performed in successive births, *tiviratarā-Satti-nipātham*, which is adapted to the superior stage of *gnānam*, arises. The influence of this form of *Satti*, will be as follows. Now, the disciple will be pious towards the *Siva-Gnānis*; will possess a *gnānam* which will make him feel that he must know the three eternal entities [*Pathi*, *Pasu*, *Pāsam*] which are revealed in the divine *Ākamam*; will have *ecirākkiyām*, a religious zeal, which will lead him to say that the world, as the body, etc., formed from *Māyei*, must be thrown off; will have a desire for *mutti*, liberation; will have no fear of births; will have a contempt for this world, and that of the gods, Indra's realm; will have great [spiritual] thirst, which will prompt him to say: When shall I obtain *Siva-gnānam*? when shall I escape from this thralldom [of the *Tattuvam*]? who will reveal to me *Siva-Rūpam*? In seeking the things of the Giver of *gnānam*, he will be distressed, like the hungry man who seeks the dispenser of food, and like the blind man who wanders at mid-day in the hot season, seeking for water.

This *tiviratarā-Satti-nipātham* has also a four-fold development, according to the degree in which the soul is prepared for it, by the removal of its *malam*. This four-fold distinction depends on four particulars in the progress of

souls, in this stage, which have come into the possession of a Guru who can give them *mōdham* (மோட்சம்), liberation, by the administration of the *gnāna-tīdchei*, final, spiritual sacrament [that in which the Guru gives instruction on the six *Atturā*, removes the soul from under their influence, and brings it into union with the divine feet]. The four degrees of progress are in the following particulars, viz: in the Guru's removal of the disciple's vexation [the bondage of his organism]; in the character of the disciple's piety towards his Guru; in the manner in which he receives *gnānam*, when imparted by his Guru; and in the nature of the *veirākkīyam*, zealous hostility to his body, and all things else in the world, which he acquires while the Guru instructs him in *gnānam*. These will be specifically presented, in order.

NOTE.—The author now uses the four appellative terms before employed, to designate these subordinate divisions of this highest form of *Satti-nipātham*, viz: *mantam*, *mantataram*, *tiviram* and *tiviraturam*.

Mantam is as follows. The difficulty with which the Guru removes the disciple's vexation, arising from the body, etc., is like that of moulding a stone. The way in which piety towards the Guru, arises in the disciple, is like the gradual softening of a figure made of sealing-wax, exposed to the heat of the sun. The process by which the *gnānam* that is graciously given, is made to shine upon him, is like that of kindling fire in a plantain-stalk [which is exceedingly difficult, as the plantain-tree holds a very great quantity of water, or sap]. When the disciple has acquired, by means of this *gnānam*, *veirākkīyam*, contempt for the world, though he lives with his family, in the state of wedlock, the way in which he will become detached from family and friends, will be like the process by which muddy water is cleared from the filth with which it is mingled, when the clearing-nut is rubbed upon the vessel which contains it. His dislike to the world, will be like the aversion which one feels towards rice which has been vomited. This is *mantam*.

NOTE.—The clearing-nut *tēttāngkottēi* (தேற்றங்கட்டை) is the seed of the *Strychnus potatorum*, according to the Linnæan arrangement. It is extensively used, in Southern India, for clearing the turbid water taken from the common tanks. A small part of a seed, grated off upon the inside of a brown earthen pot filled with such

water, will gradually deposit at the bottom of the pot the foreign matter, and leave the water clear.

To him who possesses this state of mind, *mantataram* will arise by connection with his Guru. The difficulty with which the Guru removes the pride and selfishness of the disciple's organism, is like that of moulding a pillar of iron. His piety towards his Guru will now be like the melting of bees-wax in the heat of the sun. The shining of the *gnānam* which is here graciously given, will be like the kindling of fire in common green wood. When *veirākkiyam* is acquired, by means of this *gnānam*, though the disciple be in the married state, his living without attachment to his children and friends, is like the lotus which, though it rest on the water, is never in the water. The manner in which the world appears to him, is like the traveller's learning that the mirage is a mere delusion, who, on coming up to what he thought to be water, perceives that it is not water, and, further, that the place, also, where he before stood, now presents the same delusive appearance of water. As what the disciple had before experienced becomes only as an imaginary thing and a lie [vain and unsatisfactory], so, now, even present things of the world appear as a lie. This is *mantataram*.

Again, *tiviram* is as follows. This *tivira-Satti-nipātham* arises to him who has reached this stage, through his unbroken connection with his Guru. Here, the facility with which the Guru removes the pride and selfishness of his organism [raises him above the world], is like that of moulding wax. Now, the piety of the disciple towards his Guru, flows readily, like the melting of ghee before the fire. The way in which the *gnānam*, which the Guru graciously gives him here, shines forth, is like the kindling of fire with charcoal. When he has acquired, through this *gnānam*, *veirākkiyam*, then, the way in which he will leave his family and friends, will be like that of one of a large company of travellers who have halted on a public road, who, being absorbed in his own business, leaves them without saying any thing to them. The way in which the world now appears to him as a lie, is like that in which the enjoyment of the world had in a dream, becomes false, when one awakes. The way in which he [the soul] now exists in the body, distinct from it, is like that of the ripe tamarind in its capsule [detached and loose]. This is *tiviram*.

*Again, by those who have attained to this last stage, *tivirata-rata-Satti-nipātham* will be had, through the disciple's continued connection with his Guru. Now, the ease with which the Guru removes the pride and selfishness of his organism, is like that of moulding butter. By means of the piety towards the Guru which the disciple now feels, whenever he thinks of him, or sees him, and at all times, the natural operation of three classes of Tattuvam [viz: the Perceptive Organs, the Organs of Action, and the *Antakaraṇam*], will die away, just as rain on the mountain instantly and uniformly runs down. The way in which the *gnānam* graciously given by the Guru, kindles in him, is like that in which the fine cotton of the lamp-wick takes fire and blazes. The way in which this *gnānam* removes the disciple's *puṇ-pāsam* (புண்பாசம்), bondage of the soul, is like that of the flame of burning camphor, which consumes the whole, without leaving even ashes. When he has acquired *veirākkiam*, by means of this *gnānam*, then, the way in which he fears [the influence of] his family and friends, and leaves them, is like that in which one, who has lain down to rest without knowing that there was a snake in his bed, will, on awaking, and seeing the snake, hasten away with consternation; and, also, like that in which a person whose house is all on fire, leaves his goods, and hastens to escape by some way which he sees. The way in which he now sees Sivan, within and without him, without perceiving the nature of the world at all, is like that in which one, wholly entangled in his organism, does not see any thing of Sivan, though he fills every place, but looks upon the unreal world as a substantial reality; and like that in which the light of the sun appears not to one born blind, but is as thick darkness to him [i. e. the world is to the disciple, in this stage, as a non-entity—he has no regard for it].

The way in which such persons renounce the trials [control] of their gross bodies, formed from the Elements, and become embodied in *Arul* [= *gnānam*], is like that in which they called the *stūla-tēkam*, in which they were born, and which were formed from the Elements, themselves. The way in which they come into union with *Arul*, and exist without any action of their own, but act as they are actuated by *Arul*, is like that of one possessed with the devil, exhibiting only the acts of the devil.

The state of mind with which such persons bear the trials of the flesh, as they press upon them [the pressure of their organism], in their *pirāṛatta-kanmam*, is like that of those who carry out the dead for pay. They tie up the worm-eaten corpse, and, while they are carrying it, with the worms falling upon them, they loathe it all the way to the place of deposit. Just so, these disciples loathe their bodies, and long for the time when they will fall from them.

NOTE.—I have heard this sentiment uttered in language very much like that of Paul, Rom. 7 : 24, “Alas, alas! how shall I escape this body of death.”

When united with the *Antakaraṇam* in their operations, they feel like an elephant in the paw of a lion; when in coöperation with the Perceptive Organs and the Organs of Action, they cry out like a frog in a snake's mouth; when they feel the influence of the Rudimental Elements, the media of sensation, it is like the eye when touched with lunar caustic; and like the boil probed with a sharp, heated instrument. They, having been thus greatly distressed, now recover their minds, and think of the grace of their heavenly Guru; their whole bony skeleton is dissolved [its fluids are all dried up], and becomes as the fabric [cloth which has been covered with wax, so that it might be painted] from which the wax has been removed, and as the wood-apple which the elephant has sucked [a mere dry shell]. All their members are gradually dried up by the fire of *guṇam*; and then, when the powers of the *Tattuvam* are annihilated, a flood of heavenly joy, as if the flood of Brahmā had sprung from a small fountain, will burst forth beyond their power to retain it, like a river overflowing its banks, and will drip from the hairs [pores] of the body, as water from the wet, fresh *kusei-* (கூசை) grass;* and their whole body will be like the hedge-hog, their hair standing out continually with holy joy; and while tears of joy gush from their eyes, like floods from the water courses, they can only stammer. Thus, while all their members stand in the form of love, they bathe in the floods of heavenly joy. As a swing without a rope [by which it is moved]; as the top that has ceased to whirl; as the tongue of a bell that has fallen to the ground;

* *Poa cynosuroides*.

as Brahmá's flood, when all [the agitations of] its waves have ceased; and as the atmosphere, when every breath of wind is stayed—so, do Sivan and the soul exist together, in perfect union, no longer as two.

LI.

The true idea of Mutti, Liberation, as distinguished from that entertained by several Schools.

The *Lōkáythan*, Epicurean philosopher, maintains that the enjoyment of women is *mutti*. The *Puttar*, Buddhists, say that *mutti* consists in the destruction of the five *kanam* (கந்தம்), viz: *uruvam* (உருவம்), form [body]; *vēthanei* (வேதனை), sensibility; *kurippu* (குறிப்பு), discriminative quality; *pāvaneī* (பாவனை), experience; *viṅṇānam* (விஞ்ஞானம்), understanding. The *Sāṅkīyār* say that the destruction of the Three *Kuṇam* is *mutti*. The *Samanan* (சமணன்), Jain, asserts that the destruction of the wide-spread *kanmam* is *mutti*. The *Pettavāthi* (பெத்தவாதி) maintain that *mutti* consists in the removal of the *malam*. The *Kamma-Yōkis* (கன்ம-யோகிகள்) teach that the continuance [indestructibility] of the body, is *mutti*. The *Māyāvāthi* and others maintain that *mutti* consists in the intellectual apprehension of all things. The *Pāthariyār* (பாற்கரியன்) holds that *mutti* consists in the annihilation of the soul. The *Sittar* (சித்தர்) say that *mutti* consists in the attainment of the eight *sitti*.* The *Niyāyavāthi* and *Veisēshikar* maintain that *mutti* consists in lying as a stone. These ten [ideas of] *mutti* all involve error. The true and glorious *mutti* is that *mutti* in which the soul obtains *Arul*, so as to escape from all the three *malam*. This is the proper idea of *mutti*.

A further view of the above-mentioned *mutti* [the distinctive doctrines of those Schools].

The *Lōkáythan*, who lives upon the world, teaches as follows, according to the *Sāstiram* given by the lord *Vīrukatpathi* (விருகதப்பதி) [Sans. *Vrihaspati*]. There is but one logical principle, viz: Perception. There are only four *Tatuvam*, viz: *piruthuvi*, *appu*, *tēyu* and *vāyu*, the four Elements [*ākāsam* being omitted]. When one dies, he is not

* See note on page 87, of this volume.

born again. The things most desirable for a man, are wealth and sexual pleasure. The notions of God, of merit and demerit, of heaven and hell, are all false. The body which is composed of the four Elements, is the soul; for, it is only the body that passes through the six stages, viz: conception, birth, growth, maturity, decay and death; it is the body which exists in possession of the four castes, as that of Brâhmans, etc., and, also, passes through the four stages of Brâhmanical life, as that of the *piramusiari* (பிரமசாரி), bachelor-student, etc. Therefore, the body is the soul. If any soul, other than the body, existed, we ought to see it, as we do earthen pots, cloth, etc. The experience of pleasure and pain in this world, constitutes heaven and hell. There is no other birth. The enjoyment of women is heaven (*mōd-cham*) [here = *mutti*].

The *Puttar*, Buddhists, teach as follows, according to the *Sittāntam* (சித்தாந்தம்), the *Sāstiram* of the *Puttar*. There are two logical principles, viz: Perception and Inference. There are twenty-three Tattuvam, viz: four Elements, *ākāsam* being rejected; five Perceptive Organs; five Rudimental Elements; five Organs of Action; and four Intellectual Organic Faculties. Of all these, *putti* is the chief. The five *kantam* are as follows. *Rūpa-kantam* [= *uruvam*] is the collection [combination] of eight particulars, viz: the four Elements and four Rudimental Elements, *sattam* being excepted. This is the body of the soul. *Vijñāna-kantam* is the *gnānam*, understanding, which results from the union of the Perceptive Organs and the Rudimental Elements. *Vēthanā-kantam* is the knowing [the consciousness] of pleasure and pain. *Kurippu-kantam* is that *Kūṇam*, distinctive quality, which is included in the five categories,* all of which are involved in every operation of *vijñāna-kantam*. The five categories are: *pēr* (பேர்), name; *kūṇam* (குணம்), distinctive quality; *tōlil* (தொழில்), function; *sāthi* (சாதி), class; *porul* (பொருள்), substance. Take a cow for an example. Here, *kō* is the name; *kō* also marks the class; the color, etc., are distinctive qualities; walking, etc., are the functions; the horns, neck, etc., constitute the substance. *Sankāra-kantam* (சங்காரகந்தம்) [= *pāvane*], is the pain [what

* See page 36, § (3), above.

one must do, enjoy, suffer, etc.] of love and hatred, of merit and demerit. There is no soul other than these five *kantam*. There is no God. The particulars of these classes of *kantam* are given in the pure *Sāstīram*, as follows. *Rūpam* is eight-fold; *vēthanei* is three-fold; *vigngnānam* is six-fold; *kurippu* is six-fold; *pāvaneī* [here called *seykei*, action] is twenty-fold. Thus, the five *kantam* embrace forty-three particulars. A full explanation of these things may be found in the *Parapaksham* (பரபக்ஷம்) [a treatise about as long as the *Siva-Pirakāsam*, devoted to the statement and refutation of the doctrines of the several heterodox Schools]. When these things all coöperate, and succeed each other in regular order, they cause *pentam*, the entanglements of birth, etc. When the five *kantam* are destroyed, that is *mutti*, liberation [annihilation].

. NOTE.—The eight particulars in *rūpa-kantam* are the four Elements and the four Rudimental Elements, as indicated in the statement. The three in *vēthanei* are: *kusala-vēthanei* (குசலவேதனை), pleasurable sensation; *akusala-vēthanei* (அகுசலவேதனை), disagreeable sensation; *kusalākusala-vēthanei* (குசலாகுசலவேதனை), mixed, pleasurable and painful, sensation. The six *vigngnāna-kantam* are the *arivu*, understandings, which result from the five Perceptive Organs and *manam*. The six *kurippu-kantam* consist of the *kuṇam*, distinctive quality, in each category involved in the several *vigngnāna-kantam*. The twenty particulars included in *pāvaneī*, are “the ten good actions and the ten evil actions which come from thought, word and deed;” that is, such as one is led to put forth in these respects, in accordance with his *kanmam*, which binds as the law of fate. The good acts are: repeating *mantiram*; praising, adoring; worshipping by making various offerings; being considerate; speaking the truth; being respectful, etc. The evil acts are: reviling; reproaching with bitter and low words; lying; speaking harshly; being angry; killing; stealing; plundering, etc.

The Tamil writers speak of four classes of Buddhists. The view above given embraces the peculiarities of one class, which is usually distinguished by the name of its founder, *Savuttirāntikan* (சுவத்திராந்திகன்). Our author subjoins the distinctive peculiarities of the other three classes—giving the particulars in which they differ from the *Savuttirāntikar*, or the views which they respectively hold, in addition to what are specified above.

Another class of *Puttar* [the followers of *Pokāsāraṇan* (போகாசாரணன்)] hold that *mōḍcham* is the dripping of *gnā-*

nam, understanding, which one perpetually experiences, like a continual stream of water.

NOTE.—These are idealists. They hold that there are no real existences excepting ideas. In sensation, or perception, there is nothing present but an idea; this idea becomes remembrance. What seems to exist, therefore, is nothing but a series of ideas and remembrances. Hence, their *mōdcham*, chief good, is that which flows from ideas—“the dripping of *gnānam*.”

Another class of *Puttar* [the School of *Āttumikan* (ஆத்துமிகள்)] hold that *mōdcham* consists in a regular course of pure *gnānam*, intellectual exercise [which is the result of an organism made up of parts], with which neither pleasure nor pain has any connexion.

Another class of *Puttar* [the School of *Veipādikan* (வைபாடிகள்)] hold that *mōdcham* is the annihilation of the *gnānam*, understanding, which is a mere result of the five *kan-tam*, [which takes place when the *kantam* are dissolved,] just as the light of the lamp ceases when the wick and the ghee are consumed.

NOTE.—It seems to be held by each School, as *Veipādikan* teaches, that, “whenever any Buddhist attains to the peculiar, distinctive doctrines of his School, he will secure *mōdcham*.”

These classes all hold to the general doctrines ascribed to the *Savuttirāntikar*; and therefore they are to be considered as constituting four classes of Buddhists.

The *Sāngkiyar* hold that *mutti* consists in the subjection [or destruction] of the Three *Kuṇam*. The author of their *Sāstiram* was *Kāpilan* (கபிலன்). According to the teachings of this *Sāstiram*, *pirakiruthi* is eternal; is unproduced; is material; is the [material] cause of all visible existences; is the *vadivu* (வடிவு), form—state [of primeval matter] in which the *Mukkūṇam* do not exist developed alike; and is without form. The developments from this are the twenty-three *Tattuvam* from *putti* to *piruthuvi*. [*Putti* is here considered as the last of the *Antakaraṇam*; and *sittam* is omitted, being included in *manam*.] There are twenty-four [*Tattuvam*] in all [the twenty-three, and *pirakiruthi*]. The soul is different from these, is eternal, unproduced, formless, manifold; is not a being which understands any thing, but mere

arivu, knowledge. Such is the soul. Including the soul, there are twenty-five Tattuvam. There are three logical principles, viz: Perception, Inference and Revelation. There is no impurity in the natural state of *kanmam*. The knowledge [experience] of pleasure and pain, which belongs to a succession of births, etc., is the property of [depends upon] the *Avatlei*, condition, which exists from eternity, and into which *putti* enters. This is *pettam*, entanglement of organism [source of pleasure and pain]. The pleasure and pain, which arise from that developed organism that is free from ignorance, possesses *putti*, and understands the nature of *pirakiruthi* and of *purushan*, the soul, belong to *pirakiruthi*, and not to the soul. *Mūḍham* is the resolution of the Three *Kuṇam*. So teaches the *Sāṅgkīyan*.

The sentiment of the *Samaṇar*, Jāinas, is that *mutti* is the destruction of the spreading *vinei* (வினை) [= *kanmam*]. They have four logical rules, viz: Perception, Inference, Revelation and Similitude. *Arukan* (அருகன்), the author of the *Aruka*-[*Samaṇa*-] *Sāstīram*, has existed from eternity. The soul is entangled and clogged with impurities which have existed from eternity, such as lust, etc.; is of the size of the body; grows as the body grows; wastes away as it wastes; and possesses the following six attributes, viz: to exist either without, or with, a body; either in eternity or in time; either as *kuṇam*, property, or the *kuṇi*, subject; to be, or not to be; to exist as one, or as many; to be embodied either in *stūlam* or in *sūkkumam*. *Petam* (பெத்தம்) is that in which souls, as atoms [minute beings] pass into eight million four hundred thousand *yōni*, matrices, are born, perform the six occupations [viz: husbandry, mechanic arts, writing, trade and commerce, the arts and sciences, and architecture], and in which they experience pleasure and pain. There are twenty-four Tattuvam, viz: the twenty-three *Āttuma-Tattuvam* [*sittam* not being included], and *kuṇam*. *Mūḍham* consists in destroying the entangling and clogging impurities, leading to action, suffering, etc. [which adhere to the soul from eternity], by practicing the *Sāstīram* given by *Arukan*, by means of the difficult penances prescribed in that *Sāstīram*, such as lying on hot stones, etc., and by observing the rules not to kill, etc., and thus becoming *niruttōshan* (நிருத்தோஷன்), one freed from organic im-

purity, like *Arukan* himself. *Atanmātti-kāyam* (அதன்மாத்திகாயம்), the gross body, is temporary, and subject to *pettam*. *Tunmātti-kāyam* (தன்மாத்திகாயம்), subtile body, is eternal, and involves *mōdcham* [i. e. is fitted for *mōdcham*]. Further particulars may be had in *Parapaksham*.*

One distinctive doctrine of several Schools is, that the removal of the *malam* constitutes *mōdcham* [= *mutti*]. Those who hold this doctrine are polemical [or heterodox] *Seivar*.

NOTE.—These polemical sects are all included in the term *Petta-vāthi*, occurring at the commencement of this stanza. The *Petta-vāthi*, as their name implies, hold that all souls are entangled in *pāsam*, or *malam*. The most prominent of these polemics are the *Īsura-samyavāthi*, who are first named. They claim an equality with Sivan in their final state, *mutti*. Hence their name.

The *Īsura-samyavāthi* (ஈசுரசம்யவாதி) [a sect of *Seivar*] hold the following notions. *Mutti* consists in the destruction of *malam*. There are three eternal entities, *Pathi*, *Pasu* and *Pāsam*. Souls are manifold, eternal, unproduced, and from eternity entangled [enshrouded in *malam*]. There are five *malam*, thirty-six *Tattuvam*, and six logical rules. When *kanmam* is eaten [cancelled], and the *malam* are matured [ready for removal], then one will obtain the four kinds of *Satti-nipātham*,† will receive the initiatory and confirmatory sacraments, will worship Sivan in the prescribed way, will escape from the three *malam* by means of the *nirvāṇa-tiḍchei*,‡ which purifies the *Attuvā*; and, at the dissolution of the body, will, like God, possess a form filling all space, will be endued with omniscience and omnipotence, will be able to perform the five divine operations, and will exist as a being distinct from Sivan. Such are the *mutt'-āttumakkal* (முத்தரத்துமாக்கள்), liberated souls.

Other divisions of those who hold that *mutti* results from the destruction of the *malam*. They are the six following.

The School of *Ēikkiyavāthi* (ஐக்கியவாதி) hold the doctrines above stated. The points on which they differ are the following. With souls which are pure from eternity, Sivan will [when they are brought forth] unite *mūyei* and *kan-*

* See page 189.

† See stanza L.

‡ See stanza X.

mam; and, when their *kanmam* is balanced [its fruit all eaten], he will cause *Satti-nipātham* to arise, and, appearing in the person of a Guru, will graciously remove the two *malam*, *māyei* and *kanmam*. Then, as milk mingles with milk, and water with water, so the soul will mingle with Sivan. This is the *mōdham* of the *Eikkiyavāthi*.

Pāsupathi (பாசுபதி), the author of *Sangkirāntavātham* (சங்கிரந்தவாதம்), hold, in the main, to the doctrines mentioned above. There are two divisions of *Sankirāntavātham*. According to one, souls are not enshrouded in *malam* from eternity. They possess *gnānam*, understanding, by means of the combination of the *Tattuvam* [by means of their bodily organs], which are both causes and effects. They are entangled in *māyei* and *kanmam* by God, and made to eat [experience] the pains of [successive] births. If *veirākkiyam*, contempt of the world, be born in them, then, when the two *malam*, *māyei* and *kanmam*, have gone [been renounced] by means of the *tīdchei*, God [Sivan] will cause his *gnānam* to pass over to them, as the sun passes from one sign to another, and will himself cease to act [in them]. This is the *mōdham* [of this division] of the system. This [conduct of Sivan] is like that of a man who commits the care of his family to his son, and becomes a *Sanniyāsi*, Brāhman ascetic. He who holds these doctrines, is, also, called a *Piravākēsuvāthi* (பிரவாகேசுவாதி).

NOTE.—The term *Sangkirāntavātham* is composed of *sangkirāntam*, the passage of the sun from one sign of the zodiac to another, and *vātham*, disputation, discourse. The application of the term to this polemical sect of *Seivar*, is explained by the notion here advanced, that Sivan causes his *gnānam*, as the sun of wisdom, to pass over to his disciples. In the application of the term *Piravākēsuvāthi*, the same idea is involved, but the figure is changed. Here, the communication of *gnānam*, by *Isuran*, Sivan, to liberated souls, is compared to the flowing of water. The word is compounded of *pīravāka*, from *pīravākam*, a stream, an overflowing, *Isuran*, God, Sivan, and *vāthi*, a polemic. Sivan pours his *gnānam* upon the soul, as a flood of waters.

The other division of *Sangkirāntavātham*, is as follows. *Isuran*, God, is subject to no change. Souls are, from eternity, pure; like an unlighted lamp, the soul shows nothing;

but, like a magnet which attracts iron, it causes the body, in its presence, to act. When the body is active, the Perceptive Organs grasp each its own Rudimental Element [the medium of sensation], just as the parts of a moving machine perform each its own office. The *Antakaraṇam* will apprehend each sensation [and thus complete the act of perception]. Were the *Antakaraṇam* removed, the Perceptive Organs would enjoy no fruit [would perceive nothing.] When *pirāṇa-vāyu* is resolved [destroyed], the body will cease to act. When the *malam* in which the soul has been previously enshrouded, are removed by *tīḍchei*, then, as the face is transferred to the mirror, so the *gnānam* of Sivan will be transferred to the soul. Then the soul, as wood thrown into the fire becomes fire, and as a substance put into a salt-pit becomes salt, will become Sivan; *pasu-karaṇam*, the natural powers of the soul, will change [pass away] and *Siva-karaṇam* will operate in it; and, becoming possessed of universal understanding, it will lose all consciousness of 'I,' and 'mine.' This is the *mōḍham* of [this division of] the *Saṅkirāntarāthi*.

The *Makāvirāthi* (மகாவிரதி), Great Hermits, have the following creed. Souls are, from eternity, united with three *malam*. In their embodied state, even, they are destitute of *Kiriyā-Satti*, and are united with *Gnāna-Satti* only. Sivan possesses both *Gnāna-Satti* and *Kiriyā-Satti*. By removing the three *malam*, at the proper time, by *tīḍchei*, and by cherishing great desire, and acting according as the excellent *Sāstiram* requires, they will, at the dissolution of their bodies, remain in possession of only *Gnāna-Satti*. This is the *mōḍham* of the *Makāvirāthi*.

The *Kāpālikan* (காபாலிகன்) holds, like the *Makāvirāthi*, that *mōḍham* and *pettam* are correlatives [balance each other]. It is asserted by the *Ruttirar*, and others of this School, that the three *Sāstiram*, viz: *Pāsupatham* (பாசுபதம்), *Makāvirātham* (மகாவிரதம்), and *Kāpālikam* (காபாலிகம்) [the works, or doctrines, of the last three sects of *Seivar* named above], are limited to the *Āttuma-Tattuvam* and the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam*.

Again, the *Avikāravāthi* (அவிகாரவாதி) maintain the following views. As a lamp, in a vessel with holes, shines

through those holes, so the *áttuma-gñānam*, understanding of the soul, shines through the Perceptive Organs. Without the agency of God, the soul itself sends forth the Perceptive Organs to the objects of sense, and takes cognizance of them. This state of the soul is *pettam*. *Mutti* is as follows. Before *āṇava-malam* is ready to be removed, the soul obtains, by the grace of God, the lamp of wisdom, that the darkness of *āṇava-malam* may disperse. Just as one takes a lamp in his hand in order to get something in a dark room, and just as the thirsty and weary traveller desires, and goes and obtains, water and shade, though they are without emotion; so the soul, distressed by the sorrows of successive births, will itself go and obtain Sivan who has no emotion, and will be at Sivan's feet free from sorrow. This is the *mōḍcham* of the *Avikāravāthi*.

These seven, the *Siva-samyavāthi*, the *Eikkiyavāthi*, the *Pāsupathi*, the *Saṅgkirāntavāthi*, the *Makāvirathi*, the *Kāpāli-kan* and the *Avikāravāthi*, all hold that *mutti* is the removal of the *malam*.

The *Kanmayōki* (கன்மயோகிகள்) maintain the following doctrines. When one has finished the hard services of *yōkam*, has purified the *Nādi*, and, by means of *pirānāyāmam*, which consists in the exhaling, inhaling, and suppressing, of the breath, according to rule, has established motionless, in *sulimunei-nādi*, the Ten Vital Airs which are resolved, very subtile, into *idei*, and *pingkalei*, then, this body will become a very hard body, and will never perish. This, the *Kanmayōki* assert, is *mōḍcham*—this is their *mutti*, liberation!

There are four classes of *Vēthāntists*, viz: the *Pāt kariyan* (பாற்கரியன்) [the School of *Pāt kariyan*], the *Māyāvāthi* (மாயாவாதி), the *Sattappiramavāthi* (சத்தப்பிரமவாதி), and the *Kiridāppiramavāthi* (கிரீடாப்பிரமவாதி). The last three of these maintain that *vivēkam* (விவேகம்), discrimination [the power of distinguishing reality from illusion], is *mutti*; the other holds that *mōḍcham* is obtained by *vivēkam*.

The *Māyāvāthi* hold that the universe is developed, and is resolved into *Māyei*, just as silver appears in the pearl-oyster shell [all is illusion]. This *Māyei* is not, like *Piramam*,

sattiyam (சத்தியம்), truth [a reality]; nor is it, like a hare's horn, *akattiyam* (அகத்தியம்), necessity [or a term used by necessity]. *Piramam* only is *sattiyam*; but every thing visible is *asattiyam* (அசத்தியம்), untruth [illusion]. To understand [distinguish] this peculiar form [essential nature] of *Piramam*, by means of *Vēthānta-gnānam*, and that the soul itself is *Piramam*, is *mōḍcham*.

The *Sattappiramavāthi* teach that *Para-Piramam* is the cause [material, as well as efficient] of all things. When this is understood, every thing will be *satta-sorūpam* (சத்த-சொரூபம்), of the nature of sound. The world, which is *asuttam* (அசத்தம்), impurity, to the soul, is a *vikāram* (விகாரம்), mere altered state, of that *Piramam*. Every thing which exists, both perishable and imperishable, is mere *sattam*, sound. To distinguish, clearly, that this is *Pirama-sorūpam*, *Piramam*'s essential form [or nature], is *mōḍcham*.

The *Kirīḍāppiramavāthi* hold the following notions. I am *Piramam*. I have never existed as one, alone; but have stood, without regard to time, in various ways with the many changeful beings that have sprung from me. All the various existing things are temporary. I am that existence which is eternal. To know this, is *mōḍcham*.

These three systems are mentioned by *Vēthaviyāsan* (வேத-வியாசன்) [the compiler of the *Vētham*].

The logical rules of the *Vēthāntists* are six, viz: Perception, Inference, Revelation, Similitude, Implication and Negation.

The *Pourāṇīkar* (பௌராணிகர்), *Purāṇists*, who follow the *Purāṇam* (புராணம்), have the following creed. They hold to eight logical rules, viz: the six just named, and *Sam-pavam* (சம்பவம்) [= *Uṇmei*], Essential Property, and *Eithī-kam*, Tradition. The *Purāṇam* teach the rites and ceremonies of the *Vētham*; they set forth in order the doctrines of the following systems, viz: the *Sāṅkiya-Pāthagnchalam* (சாங்கியபாதஞ்சலம்), system of *Pathagnchali* (பதஞ்சலி); the *Pagncharāttirum* (பஞ்சராத்திரம்) [the *Sāstiram* of a class of *Vāishṇavas*]; the *Pūsupatham* (பாசுபதம்); the *Seivam* (சைவம்)

[a division of Sâivas]. They also give account of the creation and destruction of the universe, and genealogical histories of gods, men, etc. *Mōdcham* consists in knowing that the ancient historical work is the *Makāpāratham* (மகாபாரதம்), *Mahābhārata*; that the *Purāṇam* are the Eighteen; that the Twenty-five *Tattuvam* are *Puraḍa-Tattuvam*; that the Twenty-six *Tattuvam* are *Ruttira-Tattuvam*; that the Twenty-seven *Tattuvam* are *Siva-Tattuvam*; and in discriminating [in clearly understanding] the things which they involve. Hence they say that *vivēkam*, discrimination, is *mutti*.

The *Pātkariyan* and *Pagncharāttiri* [Vāishṇava sects] both maintain that the destruction [resolution] of the developed soul, is *mutti*.

The tenets of the *Pātkariyan* are as follows. The whole collection of spiritual and corporeal beings, such as the celestials, human beings, beasts, birds, trees, etc., constitute the diversified form of *Piramam*. This *Piramam* is the form of wisdom and happiness, is new [ever changing in new developments], is eternal, and all-comprehensive. This [*Piramam*] is *Īsuran*, God. Not to know that this diversified form of *Piramam* is the world, is *sananam*, birth [the cause of the succession of births]. This *Piramam* only is *sattiyam*, truth. The world of spiritual and embodied beings will, at the time of destruction, be resolved into *Piramam*. *Mōdcham* consists in the soul's understanding, by means of *Vēhānta-ṅṇānam*, *Piramam* as thus described, and in existing in this *Piramam*.

The *Pagncharāttiri* hold to the Twenty-five *Tattuvam*. One of these, *vāyu-tēvar* (வாயுதேவர்), is called *Para-Tattuvam* (பரதத்துவம்). From this arise the following four, for the purpose of creating the world, viz: *Kiruttinān* (கிருட்டினன்), Arjuna; *Aniruttan* (அநிருத்தன்), the Invincible; *Mukāttuvasan* (முகாத்துவசன்); *Roukuṇṇēyan* (இரௌகனேயன்). By these four persons, the whole universe of spiritual and embodied beings is created. Their *mōdcham* is like that of the *Pātkariyan*. They both hold that the destruction of the soul [as individualized] is *mutti*.

The *Vānavāthi* (வாமவாதி), *Payiravāthi* (பயிரவாதி), and others, hold that *sitti* is *mutti*. They act on the principle that to worship *Satti* according to the *sitti-tattuvam* (சித்தி-

சத்துவம்), rule of *sitti*, and to accomplish the eight *sitti*, is the chief thing. The eight *sitti* are the following, viz: *animā*, *makimā*, *karimā*, *lakumā*, *pirātti*, *pirākāmiyam*, *īsattuvam*, *vasittuvam*. *Animā* is that power by which, when one wills his body to be small, it will become less than the fraction of an atom. *Makimā* is that by which, when one wishes it, his bodily form will become as large as *Makā-Mēru*. *Karimā* is that by which one becomes so heavy and fixed, that he can neither be shaken nor lifted, though Indra's elephant, and others, come and attempt to move him. *Lakumā* is that by which the body may become so light, that it will pass, as quick as thought, without being touched by mud or water, and without experiencing any obstacle, to any place which one may think of in the fourteen worlds. *Pirātti* is that by which, when one thinks that he should have the pleasures of Brahmā, and other gods, he has them. *Pirākāmiyam* is that by which one may have intercourse with many hundred thousand women separately in a single *kaṇam* (கணம்) [= four minutes]. *Isattuvam* is that by which one, at will, controls Brahmā and the other gods. *Vasittuvam* is that magical power by which its possessor can bring all other souls under his control, and can make this world as *tēvalōkam*, the world of the gods, and *tēvalōkam* as this world. These eight *sitti* constitute *mōdcham*. They are the *mutti* of the *Vānavāthi* and *Payiravāthi*.

The *Veisēshikar* and the *Niyāyavāthi* hold that *mutti* is *pāshāṇam* (பாஷாணம்), being stationary [i. e. becoming as a stone, insensible].

According to the *Veisēshikar*, there are seven classes of principal things to be considered, viz: *tiraviyam* (திரவியம்); *kuṇam*; *kanmam*; *sāmāniyam* (சாமானியம்); *samavāyam* (சமவாயம்); *visēsham* (விசேஷம்); *apāvam* (அபாவம்).

Tiraviyam includes the following, viz: the five Elements, as earth, water, fire, air and ether; *kālam*, time; *tikku* (திக்கு), the points of the compass; *ātumam*, the soul; and *manam*, mind. Of these, the last five are eternal. The first four Elements are both eternal and temporal. They are eternal in their causal form, which is *paramāṇu* (பரமணு), the fraction of an atom [an archetypal form]. As effects, developed forms (*kāriya-rūpam*), they are temporal. *Kāriyam* itself is three-

fold, viz: *sarīram*, body; *Intiriyam*, Perceptive Organs; *intiriyā-vishayam*, objects of sense. *Sarīram* is the *kāriya-rūpam* of *piruthuvi*, earth. Our bodies, and others, produce [possess] the sense of smell. [*Piruthuvi* is the medium of smell]. *Vishayam*, objects of sense, are earthen pots, etc. The body [that part of the body] which is developed from *appu*, water, produces the sense of smell in *Varuṇa-lōkam*, the world of *Varuṇan*, the god of water [i. e. in the world of waters]. Here, the *vishayam* are the ocean, etc. The *sarīram* developed from *tēyu*, fire, produces the sense of sight in *āthitta-lōkam*, the world of the sun. Here, the *vishayam* are these four, viz: *poumam* (பொளமம்), *tivviyam* (திவ்வியம்), *avuttiriyam* (அவுத்திரியம்), and *ākāsam*. *Poumam* is the fire which exists in wood, etc. *Tivviyam* consists of the heavenly bodies, etc. *Avuttiriyam* is the fire in the stomach [which causes hunger]. *Ākāsam* is the light of the atmosphere, as lightning, etc. The *sarīram* developed from *vāyu*, air, produces the sense of touch, in *Vāyu-lōkam*, the world of *Vāyu*, the god of winds. Here, the *vishayam* is the motion of trees, etc. *Ākāsam*, ether, is different from the other Elements, is the cause of sound, and is eternal [has no developed form]. *Kālam* and *tikku* are different from *ākāsam*, and are eternal. Souls differ from all these, are shapeless, eternal, and manifold. *Manam* differs from souls, is the source of understanding, etc., and is eternal.

Kuṇam, quality, as whiteness, etc., differs from the *tiraviyam*, and includes twenty-four particulars, viz: form; solidity or tangibility; flavor; odor; number; measure; separability; unity or union; inequality; greatness; distance; intelligence; happiness; misery; desire; hatred; anxiety; heaviness; softness; fluidity; habit; charity; illiberality or parsimony; sound [variety of sound, musical, etc.].

Kanmam, action [or motion] is five-fold, viz: lifting, or motion upwards; placing, or motion downwards; reaching, or motion from one; clenching the hand and drawing in the arm, or motion towards one; walking.

Sāmānyam [=பொது, *pothu*, that which is common], differs from the above named, and is two-fold, viz: *pāvam*, something existing; and *apāvam*, that which has no real existence. This term is generic, referring to caste, no caste, etc.

Samavāyam, relation, is two-fold, viz: *sangkiyōkam* (சங்கியோகம்), the temporary relation [or connection] of things;

and *samavāyam*, the eternal relation [or connection] of things.

Viśeṣham, the essential property of things, differs from the above; and, as it exists in all the *tiravīyam*, it must be infinite and perpetual.

Apāvam, non-existence, is four-fold. 1. *Pirāk-apāvam* (பிராகபாவம்), that which was from eternity, or had a previous existence, but has come to an end. Of this, *chel-kālam*, past time, is an example. 2. *Pirattuvams'-apāvam* (பிரத்துவம்சாபாவம்), that which is just beginning, and which has not come to its end. Future time is an example of this. 3. *Anniyonniya-'pāvam* (அன்னியொன்னியபாவம்), the non-existence of one thing, so stated as to declare [or imply] the existence of another. Thus, there is no earthen pot, but there is cloth; there is no cloth, but there is an earthen vessel. 4. *Attuyantu-'pāvam* (அத்தியந்தாபாவம்), to be without beginning or end. *Īsuvaran*, God, who is without beginning or end, is an example of this.

There are some who hold to the first six of these existences, omitting *apāvam*. By the union of *manam* with *āttumam*, one of the particulars above named, *gnānam*, understanding, is produced. By means of this *gnānam*, *kanmam*, actions, both good and bad, are put forth. By this *kanmam* [to meet its demands], bodies and organs are produced. By means of good and bad actions, either *suvarṅkam* (சுவர்க்கம்), paradise, or *narakam* (நரகம்), hell, is had. He who directs all these things, is God. It is by *sangkiyōkam*, temporary relation, that the soul possesses *gnānam*, etc. Naturally, it does not possess these powers. When one comes clearly to understand the truth of these things, *kanmam* will cease to exist. By this means, the *gnānam* that was produced by the union of *manam*, will depart, and they [souls] will be as *pāśhānam*, a stone. The *Veīṣṭshikar* say that this is *mōḍ-ṭham*, and that the *Vēṭham* were given by *Īsuvaran*, God.

The *Niyāya-Sāstiram* teaches as follows. There are sixteen principal things to be considered, viz: *piramāṇam*, rules of evidence [or principles of reasoning]; *piramēyam*, that for which proof is sought; *samsayam* (சம்சயம்), doubt; *pirayōsanam* (பிரயோசனம்), necessity [final cause]; *tittāntam*, the illustrative example; *sittāntam* (செத்தாந்தம்), the admitted

conclusion; *avayavam* (அவயவம்), the members of an argument [parts of a syllogism]; *tarkkam* (தர்க்கம்), reasoning; *nirṇayam* (நிர்நயம்), decision; *vātham* (வாதம்), discussion—plea; *soṭpam* (சொற்பம்), refutation; *viṭhanḍei* (விதண்டை), contending for victory; *ēttuvāpāsam* (ஏத்துவாபாசம்), plausible, but false, reasons; *salum* (சலம்), ambiguity; *sāthi* (சாதி), that which may be refuted; *nikkirakuttānam* (நிக்கிரகத்தானம்), the losing of the case [i. e. the state of one vanquished].

The particulars of *piramēyam*, what is to be proved, are twelve, viz: *āttumam*, soul; *tēkam*, body; *aksham* (அக்சம்), the senses; *attum* (அத்தம்), objects of sense; *putti*, intellect; *manam*, disposition; *tōsham* (தோஷம்), sin; *piravirutti* (பிரவிருத்தி), action; *pirēṭṭiyapāvam* (பிரேத்தியபாவம்), transmigration; *vipākam* (விபாகம்), pleasure; *tukkam* (துக்கம்), pain; *mōdcham*, liberation.

The *Veisēshikar* hold to two logical rules, Perception and Inference. Some of the *Niyāyavāthi* add, to these two, Revelation; and some add, also, Similitude. The *mōdcham* of the *Niyāyavāthi* is the same as that of the *Veisēshikar*. They hold that he who directs all these things, is *Īsuvaran*.

The authors of these two *Sāstiram* are, respectively, *Kaṇṇāthar* (கண்ணாதர்), and *Ashpāthar* (அஷ்பாதர்).

All the above views of *mutti* are faulty. All these doctrines may be fully traced in the *Ākamam*.

LII.

Remark on the Plan of this Work by the Author, and the Topics yet to be discussed.

In the foregoing fifty stanzas,* the subjects involved in *Pathi*, *Pasu* and *Pāsam*, have been treated in a general manner; hence, the learned apply to this part of the work, the epithet *pothu* (பொது), common [general]. In the fifty stanzas which follow, the before-mentioned *Pathi*, *Pasu* and *Pāsam* will be treated more specifically, and in accordance with the peculiar doctrines of the School to which the author be-

* It will be seen, by reference to the numbers, that there is some derangement in the text; and the contents of this fifty-second stanza may be by another hand than that of the original author.

longs; therefore, this part receives the appellation of *unmei* (உன்மை), truth. The topics to be discussed are: the properties of the soul; the nature of the five *Avattei* with which the soul has connection; the way in which Sivan stands within, brings the soul into union with the Organs, and makes it understand its own proper nature; the truth [the real nature] of the *gnānam* of Sivan; the three benefits of that *Siva-gnānam*, viz: *Âttuma-Terisanam*, *Âttuma-Sutti*, and *Âttuma-Lāpam*; the five letters [*pagnchākkaram*] which are the seat of *Arul*, and which form the name [*Nama-sivāyam*] of the Pure One [Sivan]; the state of those who are in union with that [*Arul*]. This I will do by the grace of God.

LIII.

The Soul in the Entanglements of its Organism.

The soul is firmly established in the body formed in accordance with its *kanmam*; receives, through the Perceptive Organs, its first impressions of those objects which approach so that the soul may eat [or experience] them; perceives them by means of the *Antakaranam*; knows them by means of *vittei*; and thus experiences pleasure and pain. When the divine *Arul* thus brings the soul into union with the Organs, and causes it to experience the things which come through the senses [various events of life], it has no knowledge of the divine *Arul*, who thus regulates its experiences, nor of the Organs which are the instruments by which it experiences these things, nor of the way in which these objects of experience come to it. The soul is obscured by *āṇava-malam*, and, without knowing how it can be said that we are in the *Avattei*, it sinks away into *sākkiram* and the other *Avattei*, which are forms [or organisms] in which the *Tattuvam* are separated and arranged. The divine *Ākamam* state that the *Athiṭha*- [= *Kēvala*-] *Avattei*, in which all the *Tattuvam* have left [the soul], but where *āṇava-malam* remains, is the essential *pettam*, entanglement, of the soul.

The meaning of this is, that the soul takes body in accordance with its *kanmam*, experiences pleasure and pain, and passes through the five *Avattei*; and that the *unmei*, truth [essential part], of this, is *Kēvalam*.

LIV.

Refutation of the Doctrine that the Bodily Organs constitute the Soul.

The *Sārvākan* (சர்வகன்) [the follower of *Sārvākam*, who worships *putti* as God] asserts that "there is no soul other than body; that the body is the soul." Now, this body is the effect of a cause, is possessed of various members, is composed of Elements, and, both in the *Avattei*, and when dead, is senseless; therefore, body does not constitute the soul. Does the *Sārvākan* assert that it is not so, but that the Perceptive Organs constitute the soul in the body? If they are the soul, then all the five Organs should, at one and the same time, apprehend the five objects of sense [each one being independent of any other agent]. But, since one of them cannot understand that which another does, and since we can only apprehend the five objects which address the Perceptive Organs, one by one, therefore, these organs are not the soul.

The Buddhists and others will say that the *Antakaraṇam* constitute the soul. But, since the four *Antakaraṇam*, standing in union with the Perceptive Organs, receive the sensation of, discriminate, fully understand, and think of, only one object at once; and since what one of them knows, another does not know; but the soul, associating itself with the four, by their instrumentality eats the fruit [receives what is gained through the senses]—therefore, the *Antakaraṇam* are not the soul.

The *Kanmayōki* will say that *pirāṇa-vāyu* is the soul. But it has no understanding in the *Avattei*, therefore it cannot be the soul.

The soul, which exists in the body that is formed in accordance with the *kanmam* which will not depart except it be eaten, is the being that understands by means of the *gnānam* of Sivan. It is proved, that this is the soul.

Some sectaries teach that the soul itself understands; that the *Tattuvam* make known; and that God gives *arivu*, understanding. These are next refuted.

LV.

Refutation of other False Views of the Soul.

The *Sāṅgkiyar* and the *Eikkiyavāthi* say: "What need is there, that Sivan should instruct [the soul]? The soul itself can understand all things." If this be so, then, there is no need of the Perceptive Organs. The *Niyāyavālhi* and *Veisēshikar* maintain that "the soul itself has no *arivu*, understanding." If so, then, what possible use can a senseless soul make of the Perceptive Organs? But do you say that *manam* and the other *Antakaraṇam* give understanding to the soul? As the *Antakaraṇam* are themselves mere matter, they cannot give intelligence to the soul. Is it said, that the omniscient Sivan does, by means of the *Tattuvam*, furnish the soul with the power of understanding? The soul must then be material. But Sivan does not give *arivu* to matter; but he causes, by the instrumentality of the *Tattuvam*, the previously existing *arivu* of the soul to shine forth.

It is next shown, that whatever can be understood by the soul's native understanding, is *asattu*, untruth, and that the soul, by its own power, cannot know Sivan.

LVI.

The Human Understanding is Defective.

If there be a God, why can He not be apprehended by my understanding? Because it is a truth, that all things which can be grasped by the soul's understanding, are transitory [*asattu*]. If that which can be known by the soul's understanding, is *asattu*, then, cannot *Sivam*, which is *sattu*, ever be understood by my mind? If the soul could never understand *Sivam*, then it could receive no profit by Sivan. If, then, I am capable of understanding Sivan, how can it be said, that whatever is apprehended by my *arivu*, is *asattu*? The soul's understanding, which comes with it from eternity, is impeded by the Perceptive Organs, and can only understand things one by one; as such, it is an *arivu* that is connected with *pāsam*, which is that *sēdam* (சேடம்), foul [or darkening] substance that adheres to the discriminating

arivu, soul's understanding. *Sivam* cannot be known by the discriminating power.

The author next shows that, if one inquires whether that which distinguishes *asattu* as such, is *Siva-gnânam*, or *pasu-gnânam*, or *pâsa-gnânam*, neither of them can understand it.

LVII.

Asattu cannot be understood without the aid of Arul.

Do you ask which [of the three] *gnânam* it is, that declares *asattu* to be *asattu*? The soul is a being of very small understanding, therefore it, of itself, cannot know any thing. *Sivan* is perfect and omniscient, therefore he does not discriminate things one by one [as a learner]. Again, the *Tattuvam*, which are without these [*Siva-gnânam* and *pasu-gnânam*], are *sêdam*, foul matter, therefore, *pâsa-gnânam* [=the intelligence of the *Tattuvam*] cannot understand. The soul which is of little understanding, united with its proper *Tattuvam*, cannot understand [*asattu*]. Do you ask, whether the soul, uniting with *Arul*, can understand it? The soul cannot, of itself, form a union with *Arul*; therefore, it cannot, in that way, understand it. Though the soul cannot secure that understanding by coming into union either with its *Tattuvam* or with *Arul*, will it not possess this understanding by uniting with both *Arul* and *pâsam* [the *Tattuvam*]? As light and darkness cannot both exist in the same place, so that is also impossible.

Therefore, in the next section it is shown, in answer to the question: What, then, is the *arivu* which can understand both *sattu* and *asattu*? that the soul, with *Arul* as its eye, can see both.

LVIII.

The Soul Illuminated by Arul.

Pâsam, which is *asattu*, is mere *sêdam*; therefore, it [*pâsa-gnânam*] cannot distinguish *Sivam*, which is *sattu*, as a particular thing, so as to say: This is it. Because *Sivam*, which is *sattu*, is everywhere diffused, it is not necessary that it should so know *asattu*, the world, as to pass from one thing to another, distinguishing this and that. The soul is that which,

by the aid of *Arul* shining upon it, can distinguish this as *pāsam*, and that as *Sivam*. As the eye, which is neither light nor darkness, when in darkness, is as the darkness, and, when in light, is as the light; so the soul, when associated with *malam*, is as *malam*; and, when associated with *Sivam*, is as *Sivam*. Therefore the soul, on the ground of its coming into union with *Sivam*, having removed the *malam* with which it was previously associated, receives the appellation of *sath'-asattu*, both *sattu* and *asattu*.

The *Nimittakāraṇa-parināma-vāthi* (நிமித்தகாரணபரிணாம-வாதி) teach that the soul has no understanding, but that Sivan's *Arul* gives it understanding. It is next fully proved, by illustrative examples, that the soul does possess understanding.

LIX.

Illustration of the Soul's Understanding.

Do you say that the lamp gives light to the eye, and thus shows objects to it; and that the eye had previously no light? How can you say that the eye has no light? When the light of the eye is extinguished, the eye cannot see the things which the lamp shows it by its light. But how is it, that there is light in the eye? It cannot see any thing [when it is dark], excepting what it sees by the aid of the light of the lamp; therefore, there can be no light in the eye. It is true, that the light of the eye and the shining of the lamp unite to form vision. But the light of the eye and the shining of the lamp, do not mean the same thing; therefore, there is light in the eye. The distinction is as follows. It is the nature of the lamp to show things; but is the nature of the eye to see them.

Next follows a refutation of the views of certain sectaries respecting the properties of the soul.

LX.

Further Consideration of the Nature of the Soul.

Do the *Kanmayōki* say that the soul exists, and understands, only in one part of the body? Then, the soul is a

being confined to one place, has form, is material, is destitute of understanding in any other place, and is perishable.

Do the *Samanar*, Jâinas, say that the soul just fills the body which is developed from *Mâyei*, and thus understands? This view is subject to the objections above named. Besides, according to this view, the soul must be without the three classes of *Avattei* [cannot vary in size, to meet their several capacities]; must grow as the body grows, and shrink as the body shrinks; must be subject to all the phenomena of swelling and shrinking; must be adapted to understand [the indications of] the five Perceptive Organs, and the five Rudimental Elements, at one time; and, as the members of the body are lessened, the soul also must become smaller.

Do the *Mâyâvâthi* say that the soul fills every place, like *âkâsam*, ether, and thus understands? Then, it must be without the power of going and coming [as in births, deaths and otherwise], and must itself know the thoughts of all souls.

Do the *Sângkiyar*, the *Eikkiyavâthi* and the *Vikâravâthi* (விகாரவாதி) say that it is not a god which makes the soul understand, but that the soul itself understands? Then, it cannot be subject to the *Avattei*, will feel no want of any one to enable it to understand, and needs not to understand by means of the *Tattuvam*.

Do the *Niyâya- Veisēshikar* assert that *manam* and the other *Antakaraṇam*, which possess the impurity of matter, communicate understanding to the soul? Then, the soul must itself be the property of impure matter; and, further, the absurdity is involved, that impure material organs communicate intelligence.

In view of these considerations, the pure *Seiva-sittântists* (சைவசித்தாந்திகள்) do not hold these doctrines of these impure sectaries. Therefore, when we examine the true ground on which the soul possesses understanding, we shall find that it is that of proximity, or union [with Sivan], like the crystal which retains the light [the mirror which reflects the object brought near].

The account of the soul is ended.

Next follows a view of the properties of the *Avattei*.

LXI.

State of the Soul in the Avattei, particularly the Descending Avattei.

The state of the soul, when it is associated with *āṇava-malam*, and without any of the Tattuvam, is *turiyāthūtham*. When in *turiyam*, it possesses one of the Tattuvam, *pirāṇa-vāyu*. In *suḷutti*, the soul exists in connection with two Tattuvam, *sūttam* and *pirāṇan*. In *soppanam*, the soul is associated with twenty-two additional Tattuvam, viz: the five Rudimental Elements, the Five Vital Airs, *manam*, *putti*, *akangkāram*, and the remaining nine of the Ten Vital Airs. In *sākkiram*, it comes into union with ten other Tattuvam, viz: the five Perceptive Organs, and the five Organs of Action. These *Avattei* are thus to be understood.

NOTE.—The author seems to leave 'life,' which is sometimes called *uḷlam*, but more generally *purushan*, to be understood, as necessarily implied, in each of the last four states. This understood, the account of the *Avattei* here given, accords with that of the *Tattuva-Kattalei*, pp. 19, 20, above.

Elucidation of the *Avattei*.

The five *Avattei*, taken in the reverse order, viz: *sākkiram*, *soppanam*, *suḷutti*, *turiyam*, *turiyāthūtham*, are called *Kūḷāl-Avattei*, Descending States. The way in which the Tattuvam are connected with these, severally, is as follows.

1. *Sākkira-avattei*. In this state, sixteen of the thirty-six Tattuvam which constitute the conscious and intelligent state of the soul, are removed, viz: the five Elements, six of the *Vittiya-Tattuvam*, *purushan*, life, being excepted, and the five *Siva-Tattuvam*. There will, then, remain twenty Primary Tattuvam. To these are to be added fifteen of the Subordinate Tattuvam, viz: the Five Vital Airs and the Ten Vital Airs. The whole number of Tattuvam in this *Avattei* is thirty-five, viz: the five Perceptive Organs, the five Rudimental Elements, the five Organs of Action, the Five Vital Airs, the Ten Vital Airs, the four *Antakaranam*, and *purushan*. The soul, in union with these Tattuvam, is shrouded in *āṇava-malam*. Here the soul, in its seat between the eyebrows, is so beclouded that, while it sees, it sees not; while it hears, it hears not; while it eats, it eats not; while it lives, it lives not; and while it gets, it receives not. This

state, in which the soul and its Tattuvam stand torpid, may be compared to a chariot which has been set in motion, but the motion of which, when the charioteer has forsaken it, and when the horses hold back, will gradually lessen, and finally cease.

2. *Soppana-avattei*. This seat of the soul is in the neck. The soul, having left in *sákkiram* the five Perceptive Organs and the five Organs of Action, descends to this *Avattei* with twenty-five Tattuvam, viz: the five Rudimental Elements, the Five Vital Airs, the four *Antakaranam*, the Ten Vital Airs, and *purushan*. Though the Perceptive Organs are wanting, yet, what had been felt, or seen, in *sákkiram*, will in *soppanam* also be experienced [reflected, echoed] in *putti*. This idea [or experience] remaining in *putti*, may be compared to the state of iron which has been melted: though it be removed out of the fire in which it has been put, it still possesses the nature of fire; also to the giddiness which remains in the head of the dancer, after he has finished the whirling dance; and, also, to the case of a man who has seen an elephant in a certain place, and who, on returning to that place afterwards, though there were no elephant there then, would have the thought of an elephant arise in his mind.

3. *Sulutti-avattei*. This is the seat in the heart, to which the soul, having left in *soppanam* the five Rudimental Elements, the Five Vital Airs, three of the *Antakaranam*, and nine of the Ten Vital Airs, descends, in union with *sittam*, *pirāna-vāyu* and *purushan*. Here, the soul is conscious of what it experienced in *soppanam*, but is unable to show it [express it]. The reason why it cannot tell its experience, is, that the three Intellectual Organic Faculties were left in *soppanam*. This is like the iron which has been melted, and which, though now somewhat hardened, retains a red heat. The understanding of the soul, in this state, is like the eye when the lightning flashes in a very dark night: it cannot distinguish any thing clearly.

4. *Turiya-avattei*. The soul descends to this state, in the navel, in connection with *pirāna-vāyu* and *purushan*, having left *sittam* in *sulutti*. Here, the soul exists without thought, or any other action than that of *pirāna-vāyu*. It is like the iron that was heated, but has lost its red heat, and is now only a little warm. In this state, the understanding is like the eye in the deep darkness that exists after a flash of lightning.

5. *Turiyāthītha-avattei*. The soul, having left *pirāṇa-vāyu* in *turiyam*, descends to this state, in *mūlāthāram*, without *purushan*, without any understanding, without any *kuṇam*, attribute, and without any mark or sign; and is completely enveloped in *āṇava-malam*. Here, it is like the iron that has become cold. In this state, the understanding is like the eye of a blind man opened in darkness.

LXII.

The Mattiya-Avattei, and the Mēlāl-Avattei.

When the soul sees how it is, that the thirty-five *Tattuvam* which were connected with the Descending *Avattei*, as above described, unite with all the five *Avattei* which are associated in the forehead, the seat of intelligence [and which thus constitute the *Mattiya-Avattei* (மத்தியாவத்தை)]; and when it has escaped from the ten *Avattei* [the *Kīlāl*, and the *Mattiya-Avattei*], and stands expecting to put a stop, by the grace of God, to the births [succession of births] which come in order, in this world of lies, then it will form a union with the Ascending *Avattei*, which exist five-fold in that same place. Just as the soul understands, by means of the *Sutta-Tattuvam*, the *Kīlāl-Avattei*, and the *Avattei* in the forehead, so it will understand the *Mēlāl-Avattei*, by means of *Arul*.

Explanation of the Mattiya-Avattei.

When the soul understands how it is, that all the *Tattuvam* which are resolved and developed in the five *Avattei* that have been thus described in order, unite, and operate in *sākkira-avattei* alone, and when it gets a vision of the *Mattiya-Avattei*, it will perceive that the course is from *athītham* [= *turiyāthītham*] upwards.

The way in which the soul, while it exists in *sākkiram*, is subject to *athītham*, is as follows. When one has placed a thing in a certain place, and has forgotten where he put it, he becomes suddenly absorbed in anxiety for the thing, stands motionless, even *pirāṇa-vāyu* ceasing to move, and takes no notice of any thing. Such is *athītham* in *sākkiram*.

Turiyam in *sākkiram* is the state in which *pirāṇa-vāyu* suddenly begins to act.

Suḷutti in *sākkiram* is the state of self-possession; like the man who begins to recollect where he placed the lost article, and proceeds to look for it.

Soppanam in *sákkiram* is the state where the soul is in the condition of the man who has become assured of the place where he put the thing, and who rises up to get it.

Sákkiram in *sákkiram* is the state represented by that in which the man sees, with his own eyes, the thing he had missed.

Such are the *Mattiya-Avattei*.

Explanation of the *Mēlāl-Avattei*.

When the soul comes to know, by means of the *Sutta-Tattuvam*, the before mentioned *Kīlāl-Avattei* and *Mattiya-Avattei*, then the five *Mēlāl-Avattei* will unite with it. The process of understanding by means of the *Sutta-Tattuvam*, is as follows. When the soul understands the thirty-five *Tattuvam* which belong to these *Avattei*, then *gnānam* predominates, and *kirikei*, action, is lessened; when the soul classifies [refers to their respective *Avattei*] these [*Tattuvam*], then *gnānam* is diminished, and *kirikei* is increased; when the soul equally understands and classifies them, then *gnānam* and *kirikei* are equal; when the soul merely classifies them, without having any knowledge of them, then *kirikei* only exists; and when the soul barely knows them, but cannot refer them to their respective *Avattei*, then it is in possession of *gnānam* only. It is the nature of *Sutta-Vittei* [= *Ruttiran*, the last of the *Sivu-Tattuvam*] to have *gnānam* predominate over *kirikei*; it is the nature of *Īsuran* [= *Mayēsuran*] to have *kirikei* predominate over *gnānam*; it is the nature of *Sāthākkīyam* to have *gnānam* and *kirikei* alike; *kirikei* merely characterizes *Sutti*; *gnānam* merely characterizes *Sivam*. Such is *sákkiram*, the highest of this class. The other four *Avattei* may be understood in the same way.

Such are the *Mēlāl-Avattei*.

Next follows an account of the *Kāraṇa-Avattei* (காரணத்தை), Radical *Avattei*, which are the causes [or sources] of the three classes presented above, *Kēvalam*, *Sakalam* and *Suttam*.

LXIII.

The three Radical Avattei.

The rule of the *Kēvala-Avattei* (கேவலவத்தை), which is called *sarvasaṅgkīram* (சர்வசங்காரம்), universal destruction,

where *ānava-malam* abounds, is as follows. Here is the nature of *athūtham*, from which the Tattuvam have departed, but from which *agngnānam*, ignorance, never departs.

The rule of the *Sakala-Avattei* (சகலாவத்தை), is as follows. In this, the soul wanders through successive births, from the creation to the universal destruction, revolving through various matrices, according to its *kanmam*, and being made to experience the joys of paradise, or the pains of hell, in accordance with the *pūṇṇiyam* and *pāvam*, merit and demerit, which it has acquired. Here, the soul is in union with *kalei*, and the rest of the *Vitti-yā-Tattuvam*, and experiences the pleasure and pain which are had by means of the objects of sense.

The nature of the *Sutta-Avattei* (சுத்தாவத்தை), which is *para-mutti*, final liberation; is as follows. It is that state in which the soul, by means of *tīviratara-Satti-nipātham*,* is no longer affected by the ignorance of *Kēvalam*, which must pass away, nor by the struggles of *Sakulam*; but is, by the aid of the *Aruḷ* of Sivan, brought into union with the divine feet, and there exists in *attuvitham*, unity in duality.

There are others who give a different view of this matter, as follows.

Kēvala-Avattei, which is full of *mūla*- [= *ānava*-] *malam*; is *athūtham*, the *ānavam* of which never leaves the soul, but in which all the Tattuvam are removed by means of the *vidchei*, sacraments.

Sakala-Avattei, which is united with the *Vitti-yā-Tattuvam*, is that state in which the soul, when it has escaped from the enclosure of the bewildering *Kēvalam*, looks up, and, in *Ātma-Terisanam*,† because it does not see God, nor its own hereditary right, stands admiring and comparing itself.

Sutta-Avattei is that state which is called *sākkira-athūtham*; in which the soul escapes from the embrace of *Kēvalam*, and from the distractions of *Sakulam*; and, by its hereditary right, which it now discovers, sees the *Gnānam* which is always the same, and which stands as the life of the soul, and plunges into it so as to appear as *Gnānam* itself.

In these three stanzas, all the *Avattei* which belong to the states of *pettam* and *mutti*, have been explained.

* See p. 182.

† See p. 27.

LXIV.

How the Soul is made to Understand.

If one of the Perceptive Organs with which the soul is associated, one of the Elements, the four *Antakaraṇam*, the seven *Vittiṅā-Tattuvam* which never leave the conscious soul, and the five *Siva-Tattuvam*, coöperate, then the soul will have a full perception [apprehension] of one object. Without these means, the soul, of itself, cannot understand any thing; and without the soul, these Tattuvam, by themselves, cannot operate.

But does the soul form this union with these Tattuvam? or do the Tattuvam themselves understand and unite with the soul? This is next to be considered.

LXV.

The Soul must be Enlightened by Siva-gnānam.

The soul, which has no understanding of its own, cannot, without some one to instruct it, itself know and unite with those Tattuvam. Nor can those material organs, which have no understanding of their own, themselves know and unite with the soul. The soul, which is thus without any understanding of its own, exists in the essential form of the *vannam*, letters [of the Sanskrit alphabet], which belong to the Tattuvam. If so, how is it that the soul unites with the Tattuvam, and enjoys the knowledge of things? The soul understands them all, associates with them, and experiences things, by means of the *gnānam* of Sivan, who needs not to exercise any understanding for himself.

Some sectaries teach that it is not necessary, that God should give understanding to the soul; and that the *gnānam* of Sivan understands things for the soul. They are confuted in the following stanza.

LXVI.

Refutation of certain False Doctrines respecting the Soul.

Do ye *Vikāravāthi* (விகாரவாதி) say that "it is not necessary, that God should make the soul to understand; but,

as the Perceptive Organs take hold of the *gnānam* of the soul, and understand their objects, so the soul takes hold of the *gnānam* of the incomparable Sivan, as its instrument, and thus understands all things?" Then, the soul which understands by grasping [*Siva-gnānam*], becomes itself God.

Do the *Saṅkirāntavāthi* (சங்கிரந்தவாதி) say that the great *gnānam* of Sivan passes over into the soul, as the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another, and, taking the place of the soul, understands for it? This is like the saying that, when a man is hungry, his appetite is satisfied by another man's eating.

There are some who say, instead of using the expression that "the Perceptive Organs take hold of the *gnānam* of the soul," etc., that the idea is that the soul understands the objects of sense by means of the Perceptive Organs.

LXVII.

The True Way in which the Soul Understands and Experiences things.

As men, when the sun has dispersed the great darkness, see, by its presence, all things which they had thought of in the night, and pursue their respective labors; just so, when the influence of *malam* has left every part, souls, by the *Arul* which shines upon them rejoicing, will understand and enjoy. As before stated, the fact that souls, while they are enjoying the understanding they thus possess, are not aware that, except by *Arul*, they could not experience any thing, and suppose that it is by their own powers that they understand and enjoy, is like the case of men at work, who consider not [do not stop to think] that it is by the light of the sun that they are enabled to see, and to manage their business.

This doctrine will be further illustrated in the next stanza.

LXVIII.

Explanation of the Soul's Understanding continued.

The Perceptive Organs and the *Antakaraṇam* understand by the agency of the soul. Though they thus effect the understanding of things by the soul, yet they have not the knowledge to say: Is it not by the soul, that we understand?

Just so, while the soul is knowing and enjoying all things by the *gnānam* of Sivan, it has no knowledge which enables it to say: Is it not by the *gnānam* of Sivan that we understand? Therefore, because the soul itself cannot know and experience the *kauma-malam* which it had in ancient times acquired and laid up, he who knows these things, and who binds the soul to the eating of them, is Sivan himself.

Here ends the explanation of the way in which the soul is made to understand and experience things.

In the following three stanzas it is shown, that, when the *malam* are ready for removal, God will appear as a Guru, in the form of *Gnānam*, and deliver the soul.

LXIX.

The Illumination of the Soul by Sivan.

If one of those Tattuvam which are adapted to give understanding, be wanting, then, nothing can be understood by the soul. Can the soul, then, understand all things by means of those Tattuvam? The soul is unable even to unite with *Gnānam*, by means of the Tattuvam you mention. What, then, is necessary to this union? God, who knows when the soul has become *pakkuvan*, one prepared for *mutti*, deliverance, by having completed the courses of *saralhei*, *kirikei* and *yōkam*, pursued in former births, will arise and show Himself in the divine form of *Gnānam* [= *Arul*], and will enable it [the soul] to apprehend the way to unite with the glorious feet which are adorned with the divine *silumpu* (சிலம்பு), resounding ornaments, which possess [are the symbols of] the words of those who remove the Tattuvam as a thing of no worth.

Next follows an explanation of the *Gnānam* which the Guru will make known, when he removes the Tattuvam.

LXX.

The Soul brought into Union with Siva-gnānam.

Like the great light of the sun, which combines the splendor of the ancient crystal [mirror] which naturally reflects many colors, with the essential nature of the colors which shine in many places; so the pure *Gnānam* of Sivan is

diffused in the world which is the body of various spirits, and causes *āttuma-gñānam*, the understanding of the soul, and *Tattuva-gñānam*, organic intelligence, to shine forth. But how is it, that the Guru removes the *āttuma-gñānam* and the *Tattuva-gñānam*, and brings the soul into union with *Siva-gñānam*? As the mirror at noon reflects none of the surrounding objects, but only the distinct image of the sun; so the soul, freed from its connection with *pāsu-gñānam* [= *Tattuva-gñānam*] which is material, and without any influence of *pasu-pāsam*, the soul's organic entanglement, will exist as *Paṭhi*, God, enveloped in *Gñānam*. The *Sāiva-Gñānis* will say that God graciously unites this *Gñānam* with the soul.

The circumstances in which the divine *Arul* exists in *pet-tam*, the state of the soul's entanglement, and the way in which it will exist when the Guru brings the soul to receive it, are next explained.

LXXI.

Respecting Arul's Connection with Souls.

How is it that, at the time when souls are sunk in *āṇava-malam*, *Arul* [*Tirōthāna-Satti*] exists as the essential nature of *Māyei* [as developed in the human organism, as *tanu*, *karaṇam*, *pūvanam* and *pōkam*], *Mukā-Māyei* [= *tiraḍ-chi*],* and the *pūṇṇiyam* and *pāvam* [= *kanmam*] which are not ready to be cancelled, and as associated with the soul in the *mayikkam* (மயக்கம்), ignorance and confusion, in which she causes it to experience the fruits of its *kanmam*? *Arul* will exist as *agnugñānam*, the effect of *āṇava-malam*; and, unseen by the soul, will enshroud [the soul in this *agnugñānam*], so that it will not apprehend the nature of these *Māyei*, etc., which constitute its probationary body, nor the nature of that which actuates them, nor the sufferings of births, nor the nature of the soul which is subject to them, nor the *mōḍcham* which it will inherit. What, then, is the relation of *Arul* [to the soul], while the Guru communicates grace to the soul that is filled with desire to know the nature of these *Māyei*, *Mukā-Māyei* and *pūṇṇiyam* and *pāvam*? She will stand as light, and will show the nature of the *malam*

* See stanza XXXIII.

[=*āṇavam*], *Māyei*, etc., and deliver it [the soul] from them; and, while these remain unseen by the soul as long as its body exists, because of the influence of *pirārattam*, the fruit of its *kanmam* now being eaten, she will nowhere be hid [will constantly shine upon the soul].

These three constitute the *vāymeī* (வாய்மை), truth [the prerogatives] of *Gnānam* [= *Arul*].

Next is explained the fruit of the *Gnānam* before mentioned.

LXXII.

The Illumination of the Soul.

The fruit of *Gnānam* is three-fold, viz: *Āttuma-Terisanam*, a vision of the soul; *Āttuma-Sutti*, the purifying of the soul so that it ceases to ascribe its attainments to itself, and recognizes Sivan's agency; *Āttuma-Lāpam*, the profit which the purified soul receives.

Āttuma-Terisanam consists in the soul's discovery of *Gnānam*, when *pāsam*, its organic entanglement, has been removed.

Āttuma-Sutti consists in the soul's union with this *Gnānam*, and in its renunciation of its own *ichei*, desire [will], its own *gnānam*, understanding, and its own *kirikei*, action.

Āttuma-Lāpam consists in the soul's obtaining, by means of that *Gnānam*, *Siva-Rūpam*, which is pure, and in being merged in it [so as to form *attuvilham*].

The next four stanzas are devoted to the explanation of *Āttuma-Terisanam*.

LXXIII.

Exposition of Āttuma-Terisanam.

Though the soul is incapable of understanding any thing by its own unaided *gnānam*, yet by the *Gnānam* of Sivan it will experience every object of sense, in order, as if it were receiving all its knowledge and experience by its own *gnānam*. The way in which one understands by *āttuma-gnānam*, is as follows. If one understands that *gnānam*, by means of the *Gnānam* [= *Siva-gnānam*] which is life to him [to his understanding], he will, in the same position, understand

himself. But is he able to see himself? While he stands in that *Gnānam*, he can see himself.

This teaches that *Gnānam* is to be understood by *gnānam*, and that the soul is to be understood as in the place of *Gnānam*.

The next stanza shows how this *Gnānam* is revealed to the soul, and how the soul becomes pure; and that *Gnēyam* will appear to the soul, when it stands humble.

LXXIV.

Manifestation of God to the Soul.

When the soul attempts to understand the truth of the Tattuvam, so as to secure their removal, and when it thrusts itself in among the Tattuvam, and is studying into their meaning, then that which appears as a firm reality, is the refulgent *Gnānam*. When the soul thus leaves its own way of understanding, and stands as that *Gnānam* itself, it will become *ninmalan* (நின்மலன்), one freed from *malam*. When it thus stands as the *Gnānam* which no longer separates from the soul the agency of God in the process of understanding, then *Gnēyam*, the source of that *Gnānam*, will be revealed.

Respecting those who ask, whether there is any *Gnēyam* except the *Gnānam* which thus shows things to the soul, proofs are adduced, in the next stanza, to show that *Gnēyam* is before [the source of] *Gnānam*.

LXXV.

The Existence of Gnēyam, the Source of Wisdom.

That *Gnēyam* exists as the source of *Gnānam*, which is associated with it, but distinct from it, is proved by these considerations, viz: that *Gnānam* is the *Arul* of Sivan, and that *Gnānam* cannot exist without *Gnēyam*, any more than sun-light can exist without the sun. *Sivam*, which has no connection with the *malam*, is the *Gnēyam* which is the source of *Gnānam*. The *Gnānam* that shines in it is its *Satti*.

The next stanza establishes the proper form of this *Satti*, shows her inseparable union with *Sivam*, and the benefits which are had by her.

LXXVI.

Respecting Siva-Satti, and her Prerogatives.

Satti is herself unentangled in *malam*, and is the effulgence of *Gnānam*. Is she not, then, an independent existence? *Satti* does not exist without *Sivam*, as an eternal entity. But may not *Sivam* exist independent [of *Satti*]? If so, what is the use of *Satti*? As the light, which disperses the darkness which everywhere exists, and reveals the sun which is its source; so *Arul*, the same as *Gnāna-Satti*, disperses the *malam* which exists from eternity, bewildering [the soul], shows *Sivan*, who is the source from which she springs, and causes the soul to love him, and to unite with the divine feet.

Here ends *Āttuma-Terisanam*, which is also called *Gnāna-Terisanam*.

The four following stanzas treat of the state of souls which have completed *Āttuma-Terisanam*, and exist unaffected by their *malam*. The first of the four stanzas confutes the *Siva-samavāthi* (சிவசமவாதி), who hold that *mutti'-āttumākkaḷ* (முத்தாத்துமாக்கள்), liberated souls, are, like *Sivan* himself, capable of performing the five divine operations.

LXXVII.

Respecting Liberated Souls.

It is not good to say that, just as the impious man, who is possessed of the devil, and is controlled by him, acts as the devil himself, so the soul, because it is associated with the *Gnānam* of *Sivan* who knows all things, must know all things, and thus be able to perform the five divine operations, as God Himself.

What then is the state of the liberated souls? The author next shows that they are capable of participating in the happiness of *Sivan*, but are not qualified to perform the five divine operations.

LXXVIII.

God Operating in the Liberated Soul.

In the case of a man who is blind, dumb and crippled, when the devil takes possession of him, and causes all those

members to operate, has the man himself become able to see, to speak, and to walk? Just so, the *Gnānam* which is associated with the soul, will make it understand the god that is in the man; and this Sivan will, by means of the divine forms which he assumes, perform the five operations which are his customary works.

In the next stanza, the author explains the condition of the liberated souls yet in the body, and the benefits which they will experience while in this state.

LXXIX.

Further View of the Liberated Soul.

When one becomes established in the way in which his Guru has taught him, according to this *Sāstiram*; when he sees [correctly understands], by the eye of *Arul*, the desire, the understanding and the action which arise by means of the *Vittiyā-Tattuvam* that are united [with the soul] as the means of removing *āṇava-malam*; and when he sees his own nature, which he learns by the aid of these *Tattuvam*, and, also, the nature of the *malam* which are eternally united with him—when he thus discovers and renounces all these, then, the desire, understanding and action, here mentioned, will cease to cleave to him; the nature of the soul's understanding will be changed, and he will stand firm in *Arul*, and the great Omnipresent *Gnēyam* will be revealed.

Do the *Eikkiyavāthi* and the *Sivāttuvithi* say that those who obtain *gnānam* will become Sivan, and that there can be no manifestation different from this [i. e. Sivan cannot be seen as a being distinct from the soul]? They are answered in the next stanza.

LXXX.

The Condition of Souls in union with God.

Every soul which becomes united with that *Gnānam* will become a *sivam*; and in that condition will have the further advantage of knowing Sivan. The reason for this is as follows. Formerly, they were united with *kanmam* and the other *malam*, and consequently were deluded, and considered their bodies as themselves. On this account, they

neither knew themselves, nor Sivan who is their life. But after they have received the *Gnānam* which is hard to be obtained, if they do not, by means of that *Gnānam*, see themselves and Sivan, so as to enter into Sivan's enjoyment, then they do not yet understand that *Gnānam* which unites them to the glorious feet of Sivan, to whom all souls are as servants; and because they do not fully understand that *Gnānam* which they must know, they are not yet united with the divine feet of Sivan.

It is next shown how the soul is completely enveloped in *Gnēyam*.

LXXXI.

The Condition of the Soul when Freed from the Tattuvam.

When the soul ceases to be united with the many-faced *Sakala-Avattei*, which combines the thirty-six expansive *Tattuvam*, and when the *Tattuvam* have thus lost their hold, then, the ignorance of the *Athūtha-Avattei*, which are also called *Kēvala-Avattei*,* and are full of *ānava-malam* which destroys all understanding, will not prevail over the soul. In order that such sleepiness and carelessness may not again come over the soul, it is closely united with the superior *Gnāna-Satti*, by whom it is now illuminated, and in whom it has a firm footing. When this work of *Gnāna-Satti* is accomplished, and the operation of the soul's own nature ceases, it then attains to a union with *Parā-Satti*; and then Sivan's Proper Form, the form of the highest happiness, which is above that of *Parā-Satti*, will be revealed. Now, the soul becomes so intimately united with Sivan, that they constitute *attuvitham*, a unity in duality; and thus it rests in him, as does the air in space, and as the *Pittar* (பித்தர்) [the deified manes of the progenitors of mankind, inhabiting the ethereal regions], and as salt dissolved in water. This state is called *sākkira-athūtham*.

Must the *Tattuvam* be removed by means of *Gnānam*? Will they not resolve themselves? The answer is given in the next stanza.

* See pp. 20, 21.

LXXXII.

The Way in which the Tattuvam are Resolved.

The Tattuvam cannot resolve themselves, because they are gross matter. Do you say that, when the soul understands the way to resolve them, then they will be resolved? While thou [the soul] understandest the process of resolution, and art pursuing it, so long must thy own desire, understanding and action exist, and, consequently, during that time, the Tattuvam cannot be resolved. But dost thou say that thou thyself wilt be resolved, as all the Tattuvam are resolved? Then, thine own understanding itself must perish. What, then, is the way to resolve the Tattuvam, and to discover Sivan? Unless thou art resolved into that *Gnānam* which shines upon thee, so that thy own nature ceases to live, and those Tattuvam quit thee as something foreign to thyself, and thou standest only as that *Gnānam*, that *Sivam* will not be revealed.

The next stanza shows the way in which the instruction of the soul is effected, and that, unless that instruction be had, *Gnēyam* cannot be attained.

LXXXIII.

The Condition in which the Soul embraces Sivan.

When all those Organs which go out and unite with the objects of sense, give understanding to the soul, then, that understanding which discriminates individually those objects, will become the function of the soul itself. But when all those Tattuvam stand in *sākkiram*, then the soul, without touching those Tattuvam which render it intelligent, will unite with *Arul*, and its own understanding will die away like a lamp at noon. If this takes place, then the soul will obtain Sivan in the character of *Gnēyam* [the source of *Gnānam*]. When the soul obtains that Sivan, then it can escape from births which have stupified and darkened it.

The means of obtaining the above-mentioned Sivan are enumerated in the next stanza.

LXXXIV.

The Way in which the Soul becomes a Sivam.

There are four principal steps to be taken, in order to secure a union with Sivan. 1. Hearing with desire [cordial reception of] the instruction in *gnānam* which is given by the Guru, on the ground of the person's having completed, in former births, the first three stages of religious life, called *sarithei*, *kirikei* and *yōkam*. 2. Meditation on the meaning of what has been received from the Guru. 3. Getting a clear understanding of what has thus been considered. 4. Becoming established in *nittei* (நிதே) [entire abstraction from all objects of sense, and being absorbed in meditation on Sivan], by which the soul becomes united with Sivan, as Sivan was, in eternity, united with the soul, and thus becomes a *sivam*. Those who are established in this course, are in the way of obtaining *mutti*. These four steps, of hearing, meditation, clearly understanding, and abstraction, are the four stages in *gnāna-pātham*, the last of the four religious stages. They are as follows.

1. *Sarithei* in *gnānam*. When the revealed doctrines of the three eternal entities, are heard by those who have arrived at this stage, as explained by the Guru, their ears and other Organs will incline to the instruction, just as water tends to the valley below. Here, the instruction is not only heard, but understood. Hence the stage includes both *ninmala-sākkiram* and *ninmala-soppanam*. Those who die at the close of this stage, will enjoy *sālōkam*.

2. *Kirikei* in *gnānam*. The business of those who are in this stage of *gnāna-pātham*, is to understand, and continually reflect upon, the proper forms, the natures, and the functions, of the three eternal entities, which are graciously made known by the Guru. Because this employment is wholly mental and spiritual, this stage is denominated *ninmala-sulutti*. Those who die at the close of this stage, will enjoy *sāmīpam*.

3. *Yōkam* in *gnānam*. It is the privilege of those in this stage of *gnāna-pātham*, to obtain, by the gracious look of the Guru, a clear understanding of these three particulars, viz: of the truth of *pāsam* which obscures the soul, of the proper form of the soul which is thus obscured and identified with *pāsam*, and of God who stands as the life of the

soul. Then, by the eye of *Arul*, the soul will remove *pāsam*, and become associated with that *Arul*. Because the soul is here freed from *pāsam*, and is in union with *Gnāna-Satti* [= *Arul*], this stage is called *ninmala-turiyam*. Those who die at the close of this stage, will enjoy *sārūpam*.

4. *Gnānam* in *gnānam*. Here the soul, now in the form of *Gnānam*, sees, by means of this *Gnānam*, *Gnēyam*, the source of *Gnānam*. Then, *Gnānam* slipping off, the soul sinks into [becomes united with] *Gnēyam*, so that God and the soul cease to be two [form a unity in duality]. Now, the soul is filled with joy; is no longer subject to the relations of direction in space, of country, of time, of color, of form, or of name; is indescribable by words; and has the power of intuitively apprehending all things, without the necessity of discriminating individuals. Because this stage is *gnānāthitham*, a state transcending *gnānam*, it is called *ninmala-athitham*. He who has attained to such a state of *nittei*, entire abstraction from all developed things and absorbing union with God, will enjoy *sāyuchchayam*, which is *para-mōḍham*, final liberation [the highest heaven].

The next stanza shows that Sivan cannot be known either by *pāsa-gnānam* or *pasu-gnānam*, but only by *Siva-gnānam*; and, also, exhibits the proper form of *nittei* which is attained to in this stage of *gnānam*.

LXXXV.

How Sivan may be Seen and Approached.

The soul cannot know Sivan either by *pāsa-gnānam*, which is the result of the Perceptive Organs, or, when these Organs are removed, by *pasu-gnānam*, which prompts one to say: I am *Piramam*. When the soul, by the grace of God, has removed both *pāsa-gnānam* and *pasu-gnānam*, then it unites with the [*Siva*-] *gnānam* which is now imparted to it, and is illuminated; and, by means of this [*Gnānam*] in which it stands, it renounces that limited understanding which came with it from eternity, and exists only in *Siva-gnānam*, so that the trials [experience] of the world can no longer exist. The soul is now, with great love, united with *Sivam*, which is superior to that *Gnānam*. To exist in this state, is the before mentioned *gnāna-nittei*. This is the state of those who possess *tivirātara-Satti-nipātham*.

The author next explains the state of those who have come into the possession of *tvira-Satti-nipātham.*, but who cannot reach the last mentioned stage.

LXXXVI.

The Attainment of Gnāna-niṭṭei.

If it be difficult to attain to this *niṭṭei*, in the way above mentioned, then, the soul must first know the truth [real nature] of these Tattuvam by which it is enabled to understand things successively, so as to say: This is it, etc.; and the truth of itself, which thus understands and experiences things by means of the Tattuvam; and must have a footing in *Siva-gnānam*, and be aware of the way in which it says that it cannot do any thing without Sivan. Having first understood these things, the soul must overcome, in the orderly way, by means of the mental operations of hearing, reflection, etc., the darkness and uncertainty in which it has been held, must be established in *gnānam*, and earnestly seek for Sivan as its chief good. Then it will succeed, in order, to that *niṭṭei* [*gnāna-niṭṭei*] which is mentioned above.

In answer to the inquiry of the disciple: Shall I meditate [on Sivan] as thou hast before directed? the author next shows that it is not proper thus to meditate.

LXXXVII.

Respecting the Disciple's Meditation on Sivan.

If thou wouldest meditate on that Sivan, thou wilt need the *Antakaraṇam* for such meditation. But Sivan, who is beyond the reach of these Intellectual Organic Faculties, cannot be apprehended by their agency; therefore, such meditation will be of no use to thee. Dost thou say: I will meditate without those Organs? But for those Organs, *malam* would obscure the soul; and then how couldest thou meditate? Dost thou say: I will meditate as if he were one who cannot be apprehended by meditations? But how could thy understanding live in a state which involves this *pāvāpāvam* (பாவபாவம்), both existence and non-existence [both meditating and not meditating]? Therefore, he [Sivan] cannot be reached by thine own understanding, which thus perceives and discriminates. Those who are united with the *Arul* of Sivan, who holds us as his servants, have no need of this *pāvāpāvam*.

LXXXVIII.

On the Nature of the Union between the Soul and God.

The *Mâyāvāthi* [a class of Vēthāntists] hold as follows. "Just as the atmosphere may exist in two conditions, by means of a portion being enclosed in an earthen pot, and just as the moon may appear as many, by being reflected in several pots of water; so *Para-Piramam*, the Supreme Brahm, who fills all space, may appear. Thus it [a portion of *Piramam*] may possess *Sivam* all through the corporeal entanglements, which are the effects of *Māyei*, and in this way exist in *pettam*, the state of an embodied being. And as, when the earthen pot is broken, the air in it and the atmosphere again become one, and as, when the water-pots are gone, the reflected images disappear, and the moon exists again as one nature; so *sivan* (சீவன்), the life [soul], becomes *Piramam*, when the bodily entanglements are removed by worshipping the great ones, and receiving instruction in the *Siravanam* (சிரவணம்), one of the *Upanidatham* (உபநிடதம்), Upanishads. This state of absorption is *mutti*."

Now, it is impossible for that which exists in absolute unity, to be entangled in the forms of *Māyei*, to experience pleasure and pain, to worship the great ones, and to study and practice the *Upanidatham*, for the purpose of removing such entanglements. Besides, though one obtain the pleasure of *sāyuchchiyam*, and obtain *mōdcham*, yet [according to the *Mâyāvāthi*] even then he may experience a course of births. Therefore, the doctrine of the *Mâyāvāthi* [which is pantheism] is false.

The *Sivāttuvithi* teach as follows, on this point. "As many sparks and smoke are evolved from fire, so *Sivan*, who is eternal, separates, and develops from himself, *Māyei* and *Mā-Māyei*, which are, respectively, the Instrumental Cause and the material [and Obscuring] *Satti*, and, also, souls. By means of *Māyei*, he creates the world; and exists and sports in all the eight million and four hundred thousand matrices, which are various, both moveable and stationary. This is *pettam*. Afterwards, when the fruit of *kanmam* is eaten, and *Satti-nipātham* is enjoyed, the disciple obtains *Sat-Kuru*, and receives *sāmpavi-tīdchei* (சாம்பவிதீட்சை); and, by that Guru's instruction, he learns that the

whole world is a development of *Sivam*, and discerns that, so far as he receives [instruction, etc.], there is no difference between him who receives and him who gives. And to understand that the soul is Sivan, and Sivan the soul, that there is a difference, and yet no difference, between them—this is *mōdcham*.”

This doctrine of the *Sivāttuvithi* cannot be received, for the following reasons. *Māyei*, which is *asattu*, not spirit, cannot be developed from Sivan, who is *sattu*, spirit; if souls are developed from Sivan, they will perish as material forms, like earthen vessels; and if one can discover no difference between him who receives and him who gives [instruction, etc.], then there will be no advantage in obtaining a Guru, nor in the *mōdcham* secured by him.

The *Eikkiyavāthi* hold the following view. In eternity, Sivan and the soul were two distinct entities; but in *mutti*, the liberation of the soul from its corporeal entanglements, they become one, just as water mixed in water, milk in milk, and ghee in ghee.

Now *Eikkiyavātham*, the doctrine of the *Eikkiyavāthi*, is not true; for, according to it, one of the two eternal entities must perish when they become one, which is a contradiction.

The *Pēthavāthi* (பேதவாதி) hold that “Sivan and the soul are, in *mōdcham*, distinct beings.” If so, there could be no such thing as *sāyuchchiam*, state of union with God, nor could the soul obtain Sivan. Therefore, *Pēthavātham* (பேதவாதம்) is not true.

The *Sangkirāntavāthi* (சங்கிராந்தவாதி) hold that, “as iron placed in fire becomes fire, so the soul, on uniting with Sivan, becomes Sivan.” Now, the soul does not become Sivan; for then it must perform the five divine operations, just as does the supremacy [godhead] of Sivan, who is its life. If the soul, also, performs the five divine operations, then, the supremacy of Sivan, who is God, must vacillate [sometimes belonging to the soul, and sometimes to Sivan]. Besides, it is not correct to say that iron, submitted to fire, produces the effects of fire; for, if it were not for the fire which is in the iron, and burns, the iron could not produce the effects which fire does. Water, though it be submitted to fire, and be made hot, can neither reduce a thing to ashes, nor shine, and disperse darkness. Therefore, *Sangkirāntavātham* (சங்கிராந்தவாதம்) is not correct.

The principle on which the soul unites with Sivan, so as to be one with him, and yet not lose its individuality, and also enjoys his great pleasure, is as follows. In *Kēvalam*, where all the *Tattuvam* have quit the soul, the soul does not go and form a union with *āṇava-malam*; nor does *āṇava-malam* come and unite with it; the soul itself does not perish; nor can it see that *malam*, and point it out, as this, etc.; nor do the soul and it become one substance; nor do they exist as separate beings; to it belongs the *kuṇam*, property, of darkening the soul; and it is the nature of the soul to be thus obscured by it. Such is the nature of the union between the soul and Sivan.

In answer to the question: Will *pāsam* perish, or continue to exist, in *sāyuchchayam*? it is shown, in the next stanza, that the eternal nature of *pāsam* cannot perish.

LXXXIX.

The Imperishable Nature of Pāsam.

If *Pāsam* will perish, then, the *Ākanam* should not say that there are three eternal first things. And if it will not be destroyed, then, thou must not think of getting *gnānam*. What then will perish? There is a destruction of that thing [the development of *pāsam* = *malam*] which obscures the soul, so that its understanding cannot apprehend [things aright, or fully]. Except this, there is no destruction of the eternal essential nature of *pāsam*. The darkness which cannot exist before the lamp, is not destroyed, nor can it exist before the light; just so, *pāsam* cannot exist with the soul that is united with Sivan; but of its eternal essential nature there is no destruction.

The *sīvan-muttar*, liberated souls yet in their bodies, which understand this truth, are made to experience happiness as before, and to act by thought, word and deed; will they not, therefore, be subject to births? There will be no births to them, as is shown in the next stanza.

XC.

Removal of Malam—Sagnchitham Destroyed.

Punniyam and *pāvam*, which constitute *sagnchitham*, the *kanmam* collected to be eaten, which is bound up and lies

in the six *Attuvá*, and which is the cause of endless births, will, when brought under the powerful, refining process of *gnána-tiḍchei*, speedily perish by the look of the Guru, just as seeds put into the fire [lose their germinating power]. *Piráratta-kanmam*, the *kanmam* now to be eaten, which is attached to the present body, will be eaten and finished when the body is gone.

If *ákúmiyam*, which has caused the soul [*sīvan-muttan*] to exist in the present body, like that with which it was before united, and to eat its *pirárattam*, still adheres to the soul to any great amount, it will disappear, when the soul is delivered, and comes to see, by means of *Gnāni-Satti*, just as darkness flees when the lamp shines.

The manner in which the Guru examines and renounces *sagnchitha-kanmam*, is as follows. *Piruthuvi*, the Element earth [in the human microcosm], which is the proper form in which Brahminā reigns, occupies a span [twelve *angkulam*, finger-breadths, below the navel, including the *genitalia*]; the Tattuvam *appu*, water [the form in which Vishṇu reigns], occupies the whole space from *piruthuvi* upwards as far as *pirakiruthi-tattuvam*, including the navel; the Tattuvam *tēyu*, fire [the form in which Ruttiran reigns], extends from *piruthuvi* to the neck, which is *Isuran's* [*Mayēsuran's*] dominion; the Tattuvam *vāyu*, air [the form in which *Mayēsuran* reigns], extends from *piruthuvi* to the dominion of *Sathāsivan*, in the forehead; the Tattuvam *ākāsam* [the proper form in which *Sathāsivan* reigns], extends from *piruthuvi* to *Satti-tattuvam*, the region of *tuṁvātha-sāntam* (துவந்தசாந்தம்), the twelfth *Avattei* [twelve *angkulam* above the head].

The extent of the thirty-six Tattuvam is as follows. *Piruthuvi* extends one hundred *kōḍi* (கோடி), ten millions. Each of the Tattuvam from *appu* to *pirakiruthi*, is ten-fold more expanded than *piruthuvi*. Each of the Tattuvam from *purushan* to *Māyei* inclusive, is one hundred-fold more extensive than *pirakiruthi*. Each of the Tattuvam from *Sutta-Vittei* to *Sathāsivan*, is one thousand-fold more extensive than *Māyei*. Each of the Tattuvam from *Satti* to *Mā-Māyei*, is one hundred thousand-fold more extensive than the Tattuvam *Sathāsivan*.

NOTE.—This paragraph is a mystical representation of the relative extent of the Tattuvam, in the miniature universe, man, in language, it would seem, taken from the general universe, as given by the

Purāṇists. The unit in the human microcosm, is usually an *angku-lam*, which is about three-fourths of an inch. These numbers are here given for the use of the Guru and his disciples, when engaged in the *tīdchei*, and in all those meditations which involve the study of the Tattuvam, especially as they are arranged under the five *Kalei*.

The Guru meditates on *nivirti*, and the rest of the five *Kalei*, which embrace the *mantiram*, the *patham*, the *vannam* and the Tattuvam, in which are diffused, one after another, the above mentioned five Elements and Tattuvam;* thinking, as one with Sivan, he holds in himself the *Attuvā*, the *kanmam* which are accumulated in the *Attuvā*, and the soul; and, by means of the fire of *gnānam*, with which he is filled, he burns up the *punṇiyam* and *pāvam* of the soul, which are accumulated in the *Attuvā*, examines and refines the *Attuvā*, establishes the soul in the form of *Sutta-Māyei*, removes, by means of *gnāna-tīdchei*, the power of *āṇava-malam*, which obscures the soul's understanding, and considers the soul, now at the feet of Sivan, as one delivered from *malam*, just as the moon is rescued from *Rāku* [the eclipsing dragon]. He fixes the disciple's attention on such subjects as he himself points out to him; instructs him, according to prescribed rules, in the *pagnchākkaram* which connects with *pirārattam* and the invisible symbols; makes him understand the three eternal entities; takes in, as if filling himself with water, the disciple's body, possessions and life, and causes him to say: These, as long as the body lasts, are not mine, but the Guru's, and, also, to pronounce the religious formulas. By this *gnāna-tīdchei*, *sagnchitha-kanmam* is removed, so that it is no longer a cause of births to the soul, just as seed exposed to fire [which loses its germinating power].

The author next shows how, by means of the *pagnchākkaram*, *pirāratta-kanmam* is disposed of, so as no longer to distress the soul, and how *ākāmiyam* is prevented from accumulating.

XCI.

The Removal of Pirārattam and Ākāmiyam.

When the Guru has removed, by means of *gnāna-tīdchei*, the entanglements [the three *malam*], and established the

* See note at the end of this Article.

disciple in the truth, the disciple's *pirārattam* will still trouble him; just as an arrow, which misses the mark, will continue to move till it reaches the ground; and as the potter's wheel continues to whirl, even after he has ceased to act on it. While the body, which is formed of the Elements, remains, *pirārattam* will remain, just as the scent of assafoetida remains in the vessel from which the offensive drug has been removed. The disciple will still be conscious of his own acts, and of what he perceives in others; and from his consciousness of 'I,' and 'mine,' *ākāmiyam* will arise.

Why, then, does not the Guru remove this remnant of *pirārattam*, since he has removed *sagnchitham*, which is much greater? It remains for the purpose of teaching the disciple the benefit of his existence in the body; and also to give him, by means of his sufferings in the world, a higher estimate of the joys of *mōdham*.

How, then, can *ākāmiyam*, which thus results from the influence of *pirārattam*, be suppressed, so that it shall not remain as the root of future births? Those who, by the grace of the Guru, understand the truth of the *pagnchâkkaram*, which has neither beginning nor end, and who pronounce it with full experience of its power, will not hereafter be affected by *pirāratta-kammam*. This effect is produced, just as the venom of the snake is destroyed by means of *mantiram* and medicine, and as poison swallowed is arrested in its influence by means of the proper antidotes and *mantiram*, and as fire is rendered harmless in the hand of him who has destroyed its power by his *mantiram*. Thus *ākāmiyam* will leave the state of *guṇam*, and will not remain as an obscuring power, to cause future births.

The next stanza explains how the glorious *pagnchâkkaram* is to be understood.

XCII.

Respecting the Soul in the Pagnchâkkaram.

In the celebrated *pagnchâkkaram* are embraced the soul, *Tirōthāna-Satti*, *malam*, *Arul* and *Sivam*. The soul occupies the centre. On account of *āṇava-malam*, which is eternal, and *Tirōthāi* [*Tirōthāna-Satti*], exerting a predominant influence, the soul, having no desire for *Arul* or *Sivam*, revolves

through successive births. Those who have love [for *Arul* and *Sivam*] may be instructed in the *pagnchâkkaram*.

The next stanza shows how the *pagnchâkkaram* is to be pronounced.

XCIII.

The Use of the Pagnchâkkaram.

In order that *âṇava-malam* and its associate *Tirōthâi* may leave thee [soul], repeat inaudibly [the *pagnchâkkaram*] in the order of *sivâya-nama* (சிவாயநம). The *Tirōthâi* in them [the five letters] will herself remove the *malam*, and cause *Arul* to appear. Thus, when thou art dissociated from *malam*, and lovest *Arul*, that *Arul* herself will give *Sivan* to thee. When thy *kanmam* have thus gone, and thou standest in the support of *Arul*, then thou wilt become one with *Sivan*. This is the truth of the celebrated *pagnchâkkaram*. Here ends the *Arul* of the five letters.

In the next stanza, the author shows how it is, that those who understand this truth are freed from the influence of the three *malam*, though they live in their bodies while *pirârattam* is being eaten.

XCIV.

The State of Embodied Souls which have passed into Union with Sivan.

When the liberated soul comes to see these three things as they are, viz: the prerogative of God, the inheritance of the soul, and the obscuring power of *pâsam*, so that body, which is corrupt, may not come upon him; when *âkâmiya-kanmam*, which is the cause of births, has left him; and when he has escaped, in *Âttuma-Têrisanam*, from his bed in *Kēvalam*, where souls lie obscured in *âṇava-malam* which, like thick darkness, can never be removed from them [in *Kēvalam*], although the body and *kanmam* have ceased to come over them—even then, though he may exist in full understanding of himself, yet he will not be without fault. Therefore, he [the soul] will give himself to *Arul*, who will

love him, and shine upon him. Then, when the *Siva-pōkam*, enjoyment which Sivan possesses, arises to him, he will no longer be subject to darkness and confusion; but will become one with Sivan, firmly established in *sāyuchchīyam*, as a pure and great one.

Some assert that, because *kanmam* springs from thought, word and deed, they must be destroyed, respectively, by *pirānāyāmam*, suppression of *pirāṇa-vāyu*, *mavunam*, silence, and *āthanam*, sitting.

Others teach that *kanmam* is to be destroyed as follows: *sagnchitha-kanmam*, by *tiḍchei*; *pirāratta-kanmam*, by experience [eating the fruits of *kanmam*]; and *ākāmiyam*, by ceasing to be conscious of one's doings.

In the next stanza, the answer is given to the following question: Will those who are fully established in the truth, practice those virtuous deeds which they before did?

XCV.

The Practice of those who are already Liberated.

Those who are established in the truth, will not voluntarily fail to observe the following, and other similar, duties. They will select meritorious places for the performance of *samāthi*; they will take the auspicious times for the ceremonies which they perform; they will give heed to the direction in which the face is turned in ceremonies; they will exercise themselves in the sixty-four postures which the *Yōki* should take in meditations, as, in *āthanam*; they will give heed to their dress, to wear a proper cloth; they will behave properly in lucrative engagements; they will have due regard to the distinctions of the different castes, as that of Brāhmins, etc.; they will cherish right dispositions, as *sāttvikam*, meekness, etc.; they will have a proper regard to name [fame], personal appearance, etc.; they will observe the fasts and austerities, as the *sāntirāyaṇam* (சாந்திராயணம்), austerities extending through a month, etc.; they will maintain good behavior; they will endure, as penance [will not be burnt by] the five fires [viz: desire, lust, anger, lying, and appetite or hunger]; they will use the *manṭiram*, repeating them by thought, word and deed; they will perform the meditations by which they may see, and meditate upon, the

several lights [various appearances of God in man, appearing to the liberated soul as light], in the six *âthâram* (ஆதாரம்), regions in the human microcosm [where the soul may stand and meditate on the various forms of the indwelling God].

NOTE.—The six *âthâram* are: *mūlâthâram* (மூலாதாரம்), the anus, or posterior parts; *svâthittānam* (சுவாதிட்டானம்), the genitalia; *manipūrakam* (மணிபூரகம்), the navel; *anūthakam* (அனூதகம்), the heart and stomach; *visutti* (விசுத்தி), the root of the tongue—the neck; *âgmei* (ஆஞ்ஞை), the forehead. The first two are sometimes combined, when considered as the seat or dominion of Brahṁā, the Generator.

What is, then, the true state of such as understand the truth? Just like that of a man sleeping with something in his hand. Whatever is unreal [unabiding] will leave them by its own nature.

The expression translated above: “Those who are established in the truth, will not voluntarily fail to observe,” etc., is interpreted by some to mean that “they give up all the things mentioned above, and are fixed in the Truth [God];” by others, that “they stand fixed in the Truth, without giving up that connexion:” and by others, that “they who stand fixed in the Truth, will not be united with those things.”

Moreover, those great souls that have obtained possession of Sivan, will not, in the least, be subject to *pasu-pūtham* (பசுபூதம்) [= *pasu-guṇam*], the soul's original understanding, whether they observe the fasts, prayers, *pūsei*, meditations, etc., which are prescribed by the *Vētham* and *Ākamam*, or whether they neglect them, so as to be reproached by the world. Their native understanding being melted into *Sivan*, which envelops and pervades it, they will not be conscious of what they do or neglect to do. This has an illustration in the case of a sleeping man, who is perfectly unconscious whether, or not, he speaks or acts in any way; and, also, in the case of a drunken man, who cares not whether he is clothed or naked.

Where will such discover the truth—within, or without, themselves? The answer is given in the next stanza.

XCVI.

The Final State of the Liberated Soul yet in the Body.

Such persons are not like men of the world, who perform acts of adoration both mental and bodily; nor like persons void of *gnānam*, who are enveloped in darkness, and greedily seize on the objects of sense, as if they were realities; but, having obtained *sāyuchchīyam*, *gnānam* shines within and around them, which they enjoy without being conscious of the distinction [between them and Sivan].

These three preceding stanzas treat of the state of such great souls as have experienced the divine illumination of *gnānam* in *gnānam* [the highest, or last, step in the last stage of religious life on earth].

The next stanza shows that souls in this state are sure of *mutti*, final liberation.

XCVII.

Mutti certain to Souls which have attained to Gnānam in Gnānam.

While the four Elements, earth, water, fire and air, exist in union with ether, this ether itself completely envelops them all; just so, while *gnānam* perfectly fills the whole man, he who, possessing a body of *gnānam*, is thus prepared to see, by the eye of *gnānam*, any object presented, will become a *sivam*. What, then, will be the result to one in such a state? If his *sorūpam*, proper form, be *Sivam*, he can have no doubt of obtaining *mutti*.

The last sentence is by some rendered thus: "Because his body is *gnānam*, there can be no doubt that he will be united to Sivan, and become a *sivam*."

This stanza teaches that, as for those who are in the possession of *gnānam*, though they hesitate in mind when they look on the world, yet the world will not appear to them except as *Gnānam*, by which they are united to Sivan.

Some say that the stanza teaches that both the highest and the middle class of liberated souls, are in a salvable condition.

The next stanza shows that those who fall short of this state, on account of its difficulties, have another resort.

XCVIII.

The Prospect of Souls which have only reached Yōkam in Gnānam.

Piruthuvi and the other *Tattuvam* are all *sēdam*, foul matter. Therefore, to understand that these are different from the soul, and that they do not live [operate] except by *Arul*, is *Pūṭha-Sutti* (பூதசுத்தி); to be established firmly in *Gnānam*, which has freed the soul from the control of the *Tattuvam*, is *Āttuma-Sutti*; to see every thing by the eye of *Gnānam*, is *Tirāviya-Sutti* (திரவியசுத்தி); to understand the truth of the *pagnchākkaram*, and to pronounce it according to rule, is *Mantira-Sutti* (மந்திரசுத்தி); to understand the truth [true nature] of God, and to worship Him, is *Lingka-Sutti* (இலிங்கசுத்தி). The *Vētham* and *Ākamam* assert that these five *Sutti* are *gnāna-pūsei* (ஞானபூசை) to Sivan.

The object of this stanza is to show those who are walking in the stage of *yōkam* in *gnānam*, but who are troubled with their thoughts and words, that this is the working of *Gnānam*, by which, while they are in the world, they perform, by means of *gnānam*, *Pūṭha-Sutti*, *Āttuma-Sutti*, *Tirāviya-Sutti*, *Mantira-Sutti* and *Lingka-Sutti*, stand in the proper form of *Gnānam*, and are united with Sivan.

To those who find it difficult to pursue this course, another way is pointed out in the next stanza.

XCIX.

The Hope of those who are in the stage Sarithei in Gnānam.

Those who worship Sivan, who cannot be seen by either the god *Mayēsuran*, or the king of *Siva-lōkam* (சிவலோகம்) whom the *tēvar* (தேவர்), gods, worship; whose eyes shed tears like pearls; and whose words fail them—such will have a perpetual vision of the Truth, having tasted the ambrosia from the sea of *gnānam*.

This refers to *sarithei* in *gnānam*, where the devotee, by means of *gnānam*, gets such a vision of Sivan in his servants and temples, that he is withdrawn from worldly interests, and turned to the operations of *Gnānam*, even while his thoughts, words and deeds are being put forth.

Here ends the consideration of the union of the soul with God.

In the next stanza, the author states that he was enabled, by *Arul*, to write this *Sāstiram*, and to explain these doctrines, without any error either in the beginning, middle, or end of the treatise.

C.

The Author's Estimate of this Treatise.

I have here treated, by the help of the luminous *Arul*, of both *pettam* and *mutti*, which are the end [the chief meaning] of the *Vēlham*, the form of which is happiness, and the meaning of which is most profitable. These subjects [of which I speak] transcend the knowledge of all the Schools from the *Lōkāythar* to the *Sivāttuvūthi*.

The next stanza speaks of the character of the Guru who teaches, and of the disciple who hears this *Sāstiram*.

CI.

The Proper Character of the Teacher and Student of this Treatise.

They who can cause *Gnānam* to shine, who, by means of the *ethu*,* can elucidate the meaning of this *Gnāna-Nūl* (ஞானநூல்), which is called *Siva-Pirakāsam*, and who are qualified to apprehend this meaning, and establish it, agreeably to the context, so as to remove all perplexity, and in accordance with the four figures, viz: *panpu-uvamei* (பண்புவமை), comparison of the quality of one thing with that of another; *payan-uvamei* (பயனுவமை), comparison of the profits of one thing with those of another; *vinei-uvamei* (வினையுவமை), comparison of the operations of one thing with those of another; *uru-uvamei* (உருவுவமை), comparison of the form of one thing with that of another—they can, without fault, either read or hear this *Sāstiram*.

THE END.

* See p. 39.

NOTE.

On the Five Kalei and the Six Attuvâ.

The *Pagncha-Kalei* (பஞ்சகலை), Five *Kalei*, have been explained, in general terms, above. See pp. 14, note, 153, 154, 155.

As explained, they are a complex organism, or, rather, a connected series of organisms, developed from *Kudilei*, or *Sutta-Mâyei*, *Mâyei* that is free from *ânuva-malam*, and hold, in their embrace, all the parts of the human microcosm as possessed by the soul in its successive stages of religious life, or in its progress through *pettam* to *mutti*. The *Kalei* are given below, with all the particulars belonging to each.

The *Ârattuvâ* (ஆறத்துவா), Six *Attuvâ*, are six sets of organs, or organic powers. These are briefly explained in a note above, pp. 141, 142. One of these six sets is made up of the *Five Kalei*, which embrace the other five sets, together with other organs. These several parts of man's complicated human form, will here be distributed and named, as they are arranged, under the *Five Kalei*, by *Tamil* authors.

Contents of the Five Kalei.

1. *Nivirti* embraces the following, viz:

Piruthuvi, earth, one of the five Elements.

Mâyei, one of the five *malam*.

Suvâthattânam, one of the five *Mâyei*. This is the same term as the second of the six *âthâram* (mentioned p. 234), and seems to be essentially the same thing.

Sâkkiram, one of the five *Avattei*.

Two *Mantiram*, viz: *sattiyôsâtham* (சத்தியோசாதம்) and *iruthayam* (இருதயம்). These are two of the eleven *mantiram*, which constitute one of the Six *Attuvâ*.

The twenty-eight *Patham*. These are the first division of the eighty-one *Patham*, which constitute one of the Six *Attuvâ*. The twenty-eight are the following, viz: *makâtēva* (மகாதேவ); *satpāvēsura* (சத்பாவேசுர); *yōkātthipa* (யோகாதிப); *tēmugnchamugucha* (தேமுஞ்சமுஞ்ச); *pirathamapirathama* (பிரதம்பிரதம); *tesatesa* (தெசதெச); *saruvusāsuvatha* (சருவசாகுவத); *sānittiya* (சாநித்திய); *saruvapūtha* (சருவபூத); *su-kappiratha* (சுகப்பிறத); *saruvāsānittiyaakā* (சருவசாநித்தியகா);

virumam (விறுமம்); *vittuvu* (விட்டுணு); *uruttira* (உருத்திர); *attutha* (அத்துத); *lāttutha* (தாத்துத); *pūruvattitha* (பூருவத்தித); *puruvattitha-sādanasādana* (புருவத்திதசாடணசாடண); *turu-turu* (துருதுரு); *pathangka* (பதங்க); *pingkapingka* (பிங்கபிங்க); *gudāgnāna* (ஞானஞான); *sattasatta* (சத்தசத்த); *sūkkumasūkkuma* (சூக்குமசூக்கும); *sivasiva* (சிவசிவ); *vāthasaruva* (வாதசருவ); *vittiyātlupava* (வித்தியாதிபவ); *ōm namō-nama* (ஓம் நமோநம).

The one hundred and eight *Puṇanam*. These constitute the first division of the two hundred and twenty-four *Puṇanam*, localities, which form one of the Six *Attuvā*. They are as follows, viz: *kālākkini* (காலாக்கினி); *kūrmāṇḍan* (கூர்மாண்டன்); *āḍukēsan* (ஆடகேசன்); *pirunmā* (பிறுமமா); *veṇṇavan* (வைணவன்); *ravuttiram* (இரவுத்திரம்)—these six are above;—*pirasāthana* (பிரசாதன); *pirukāman* (பிரகாமன்)—these two are below; *pālisan* (பாலீசன்); *yusam* (யசம்); *puttan* (புத்தன்); *vachchiratēkan* (வச்சிரதேகன்); *piramattanan* (பிரமத்தனன்); *vipūthi* (விபூதி); *eiviyān* (ஐவியன்); *sāttā* (சாத்தா); *pināki* (பினாகி); *tiritēsāthipan* (திரிதேசாதிபன்)—these are at the east; *akkini* (அக்கினி); *urulliran* (உருத்திரன்); *uthāsanān* (உதாசனன்); *pingkalun* (பிங்கலன்); *kāthakun* (காதகன்); *aran* (அரன்); *suvalan* (சுவலன்); *tēkanan* (தேகனன்); *peppuru* (பெப்புறு); *paramāntakan* (பரமாந்தகன்); *ayāntakan* (அயாந்தகன்)—these are at the south-east; *iyan* (இயன்); *mirutti* (மிருத்தி); *aran* (அரன்); *tūtā* (தாதா); *vilūtā* (விதாதா); *kattā* (கத்தா); *yōkattā* (யோகத்தா); *avūtā* (அவிதாதா); *tanampathī* (தனம்பதி); *atanampathī* (அதனம்பதி)—these are at the south; *niruthi* (நிருதி); *māraṇan* (மாறணன்); *antur* (அந்தர்); *kurūr* (குரூர்); *tirutti* (திருட்டி); *payānakan* (பயானகன்); *ūrttuvakēsan* (ஊர்த்துவகேசன்); *virupādan* (விருபாடன்); *tūmpiran* (தூம்பிரன்); *ulōkithan* (உலோகிதன்); *tēgnkittiran* (தேங்கிட்டிறன்)—these are at the south-west; *pelan* (பெலன்); *athipelan* (அதிபெலன்); *pāsakattan* (பாசகத்தன்); *mukā-pelan* (மகாபெலன்); *susu* (சசு); *vēthan* (வேதன்); *seyan* (செயன்); *pattiran* (பத்திரன்); *tīrkathan* (தீர்க்கதன்)—these are at the west; *mēkanāthan* (மேகநாதன்); *sunāthan* (சுநாதன்); *tesaman* (தெசமன்); *parikitti* (பரிகீத்தி); *sēkkiran* (சேகிரன்); *laku* (இலகு); *vāsuvēkan* (வாசுவேகன்); *sūkkuman* (சூக்குமன்); *tēkkanan* (தீக்கணன்)—these are at

the north-west; *pagnchāthakan* (பஞ்சாதகன்); *pagnchikka-patti* (பஞ்சிக்கப்பத்தி); *mēkavākanan* (மேகவாகனன்); *nēthiśan* (நீதிசன்); *urupavān* (உருபவான்); *tanniyān* (தன்னியன்); *savummiya-tēkān* (சவும்மியதேகான்); *sadāthān* (சடாதான்); *ilakumī* (இலகுமி); *turan* (தரன்)—these are in the north; *vittiyātaran* (வித்தியாதரன்); *saruvā-gnānan* (சருவஞானன்); *ṇukku* (புக்கு); *vēthapārakun* (வேதபாரகன்); *surēśan* (சுரேசன்); *saruvān* (சருவன்); *settān* (சேட்டன்); *pūthapālan* (பூதபாலன்); *pelippiriyān* (பெலிப்பிரியன்); *viruśāṇan* (விறுஷணன்); *viśhatān* (விஷதான்)—these are at the north-east; *antaran* (அந்தரன்); *kurōthian* (குரோதன்); *mūruśāṇan* (மாருதாசனன்); *kiragnchan* (கிரஞ்சன்); *uthumparan* (உதும்பரன்); *panvintiran* (பனீந்திறன்); *saruvachchiran* (சருவச்சிரன்); *tēngkittiravān* (தேங்கிட்டிறவான்); *sanpu* (சம்பு); *vipu* (விபு)—these occupy the intermediate spaces or points; *kenāttiyakkan* (கெனாத்தியக்கன்); *triyakkan* (திரியக்கன்); *attisan* (அத்தீசன்); *ēśvaran* (ஈசுவரன்); *śaṅkavāthakanan* (சங்கவாதகனன்); *viyākan* (வியாகன்); *napulippasu* (நபுலிப்பசு); *tirōśanan* (திரிலோசனன்); *vīrapattiran* (வீரபத்திரன்)—these are below.

Thirty-five Tattuvam. These are the Primary Tattuvam. The Tattuvam, as presented in the *Tattuva-Kaṭṭalei*, constitute one of the Six *Attuvai*.

Such is the constitution of *nīrvīrti-kalei*. All these particulars are considered as essentially and really embraced in it.

2. *Pirāthitṭei* embraces the following particulars, viz:

Appu, fire, one of the five Elements. Here, as in each of the five *Kalei*, the functions of the Element (p. 16) are chiefly to be considered.

Kāmmam one of the five *malam*.

Maṇipūrakam (மணிபூரகம்), one of the five *māyei*, correspond to the *āthāram* of the same name.

Soppanam, one of the five *Avatṭei*.

Two *Mantiram*, viz: *vāma-tēvam* (வாமதேவம்), and *sirasu* (கிரசு), two of the Eleven *Mantiram*.

The twenty-one *Patham*. These constitute the second division of the eighty-one *Patham*, and are as follows, viz: *aveiyum aveiyum* (அவையும அவையும); *arupina arupina* (அருபின அருபின); *pirathama pirathama* (பிரதம்பிரதம); *tesa tesa* (தெசதெச); *sōthi sōthi* (சோதிசோதி); *arupa* (அருபு);

akkini (அக்கினி); *arūm* (அறம்); *alam* (அலம்); *anātha* (அனாத); *nī nū nī nī* (நாநாநாநா); *tū tū tū tū* (தூதூதூதூ); *ōm pū* (ஓம்பூ); *ōm puva* (ஓம்புவ); *ōm suva* (ஓம்சுவ); *anīthan* (அநிதன்); *nīthan* (நிதன்); *nīthanōtpuva* (நிதனோற்புவ); *siva saruva* (சிவசருவ); *paramāttumam* (பரமாத்நம்); *kēsura* (கேசுர).

The fifty-six *Puranam*. These constitute the second division of the two hundred and twenty-four, and are as follows, viz: *amarēsan* (அமரேசன்); *pirapāsan* (பிறபாசன்); *neimīsan* (நைமீசன்); *puḍukaran* (புடகரன்); *tenḍiṇḍi* (தெண்டிண்டி); *parāpūthi* (பராபூதி); *lakulīsan* (இலகுலீசன்); *arichchantiran* (அரிச்சந்திரன்); *sirisayilan* (சிரிசயிலன்); *seḷēsan* (செலேசன்); *āmam* (ஆமம்); *irāthilēsan* (இராதிலேசன்); *matṭiyamēsan* (மத்தியமேசன்); *makāikālan* (மகாகாளன்); *kekanākāran* (கெகனாகாரன்); *peiyiravan* (பையிரவன்); *kēkei* (கேகை); *kurukkēttirān* (குருக்கேத்திரன்); *nākalan* (நாகலன்); *vimalan* (விமலன்); *attakīsan* (அட்டகாசன்); *makēntiran* (மகேந்திரன்); *pīman* (பீமன்); *vattirāthapan* (வத்திராதபன்); *uruttira kōḍi* (உருத்திரகோடி); *iravimuttan* (இரவிமுத்தன்); *makāpēlan* (மகாபெலன்); *kōkānan* (கோகானன்); *puṭṭirakanṇan* (புத்திரகண்ணன்); *suvaṇ* (சுவன்); *nāḍan* (நாடன்); *tīnu* (தானு); *sukalaṇḍan* (சுகலண்டன்); *tuviraṇḍan* (துவிரண்டன்); *makākōḍan* (மகாகோடன்); *maṇḍalēsan* (மண்டலேசன்); *kālāgnichuran* (காளாஞ்சுரன்); *saṅgukannan* (சங்குகண்ணன்); *tulēsan* (துலேசன்); *tulēsan* (தலேசன்); *peisāsam* (பைசாசம்); *irādunam* (இராடநம்); *kāntaruvam* (காந்தருவம்); *eintiram* (ஐந்திரம்); *savummiyam* (சவும்மியம்); *pirākēsam* (பிரகேசம்); *pīrumam* (பிறுமம்); *akirutham* (அகிறுதம்); *kirutham* (கிறுதம்); *peiyiravam* (பையிரவம்); *pīrānam* (பிராநம்); *makam* (மகம்); *veiṇavam* (வைணவம்); *nāvuttirām* (நாவுத்திரம்); *sōthi* (சோதி); *śīkaṇḍam* (சீகிண்டம்).

Twenty-three letters of the Sanskrit alphabet—a part of the fifty-one letters, which constitute one of the Six *Attuvā*.

Twenty-three *Tattuvam*. These are as follows, viz: four of the Elements, *piruthuvi* not being included; the five Perceptive Organs; the five Rudimental Elements; the five Organs of Action; the four Intellectual Organic Faculties.

These are what are usually named as the contents of *pirathittā-kulei*. Other organs are implied, and sometimes named.

8. *Vittei* embraces the following particulars, viz :

Tēyu, fire, one of the five Elements.

Vintu (விந்து), one of the five *malam*.

Visutti (விசத்தி), one of the five *Māyei*—corresponding to the *āthāram* of the same name.

Sulutti, one of the five *Avattei*.

Two *mantiram*, viz: *akōram* (அகோரம்) and *sikāyam* (சிகாயம்). These, as before, are two of the eleven.

The twenty *Patham*—the third division of the eighty-one, viz: *nūttiya yōkinē yākanākarāya* (நித்தியயோகினேயாக-
னாகராய); *ōm nama sivāya* (ஓம்நமச்சிவாய); *saruvappirēpavē
sivāya* (சருவப்பிரேபவேசிவாய); *śānanamūrthi* (சாநனமூர்த்-
தாய); *tatpurusha* (தற்புருஷ); *altirāya* (அத்திராய); *akōra*
(அகோர); *iruthēyāya* (இருதையாய); *vāmatēva* (வாமதேவ);
kuṇḍyāya (குய்யாய); *sattiyōsātha mūrteiya* (சத்தியோசாதமூர்த்-
தைய); *ōm namō nama* (ஓம்நமோநம); *kuṇḍyātti kuṇḍyāya* (குய்-
யாத்திகுய்யாய); *kōllirēyanithāya* (கோத்திரேயனிதாய); *saru-
vapōkāthikkirupāya* (சருவபோகாதிக்கிருபாய); *saruvavittiyū-
thipāya* (சருவவித்தியாதிபாய); *sōthirūpāya* (சோதிருபாய);
paramēsuparaparāya (பரமேசுபரபராய); *asēthagnchēthana*
(அசேதஞ்சேதன); *viyōminavi* (வியோமினவி).

The twenty-seven *Puvanam*—the third division of the two hundred and twenty-four, viz: *vāmān* (வாமான்); *pūman*
(பீமன்); *ukkiran* (உக்கிரன்); *puvan* (பவன்); *śānan* (சா-
னன்); *ēkapērōn* (ஏகபேரோன்); *pirasandān* (பிரசண்டன்);
umāpathi (உமாபதி); *asan* (அசன்); *anantan* (அனந்தன்); *ēka-
sivan* (ஏகசிவன்); *kurōthan* (குரோதன்); *sandan* (சண்டன்);
tuvihi (துவிதி); *sangvattan* (சங்வத்தன்); *sirathān* (சிறதான்);
pagnchāntakan (பஞ்சாந்தகன்); *sirīlaran* (சிரீதரன்); *pagncha-
siki* (பஞ்சசிகி); *mākāttuvithi* (மாகாத்துவிதி); *vāmatēvan* (வா-
மதேவன்); *utpavan* (உற்பவன்); *pavan* (பவன்); *ēkapingkalan*
(ஏகபிங்கலன்); *ēkēkakashaṇan* (ஏகேககஷணன்); *śānan* (சா-
னன்); *angkuṭṭamāttiran* (அங்குட்டமாத்திரன்).

Fourteen letters of the fifty-one.

The seven *Vittiyā-Tattuvam*.

4. *Sānti* involves the following particulars, viz :

Vāyu, air, one of the five Elements.

Mā-Māyei, one of the five *malam*, probably the same as *tiraḍchi* (see p. 163).

Visutti, one of the five *Māyei*, corresponding to the fifth *āthāram*, of the same name.

Turiyam, one of the five *Avattei*.

Two *Mantiram*, viz: *tatpurudam* (தத்புருடம்), and *kava-sham* (கவஷம்).

The eleven *Patham*—the fourth division of the eighty-one, viz: *Viyōma* (வியோமம்); *viyōminē* (வியோமினே); *vīyōma-rūpāya* (வியோமரூபாய்); *saruvaviyāpinēsivāya* (சருவவியாபினேசிவாய்); *anantāya* (அனந்தாய்); *anāthāya* (அனாதாய்); *anāsiruthāya* (அனாசிறுதாய்); *tatturuvāya* (தத்துருவாய்); *satsuvathāya* (சத்சுவதாய்); *ṛōka pīda sanggattihāya* (யோகபீடசங்ஙத்திதாய்); *nama sathāsivāya* (நமசதாசிவாய்).

The eighteen *Puvanam*, constituting the fourth division of the two hundred and twenty-four, viz: *vāmei* (வாமை); *settei* (செட்டை); *ravuttiri* (ரவுத்திரி); *kālikalavi* (காலிகலவி); *kāṇi* (காணி); *pelavikāṇi* (பெலவிகாணி); *pelappiramatanani* (பெலப்பிறமதனி); *saruvapūthamatanani* (சருவபூதமதனி); *makōnmanṇi* (மகோன்மணி); *anantēsan* (அனந்தேசன்); *sūkkuman* (சூக்குமன்); *sivōttuman* (சிவோத்தமன்); *anakanēttiran* (அனகநேத்திரன்); *ēkaruttiran* (ஏகருத்திரன்); *tirimūrtti* (திரிமூர்த்தி); *sirīkaṇḍan* (சிரீகண்டன்); *sikandi* (சிகண்டி); *sathāsivan* (சதா-

Three of the Sanskrit letters.

Three of the *Siva-Tattuvam*, viz: *Sutta-Vittei* (= *Ruttiran*); *Īsuram* (ஈசுரம்) (= *Makēsuran*); *Sūthākkiyam*.

These, with the other implied developments, constitute the organism of *sānti-kalei*.

5. *Sāntiyāthūthei* comprehends the following particulars, viz:

Ākāsam, ether, one of the five Elements.

Ānavam, one of the five *malam*.

Ākkinei, one of the five *Māyei*, corresponding to the sixth *āthāram*.

Turiyāthūtham, one of the five *Avattei*.

Three of the eleven *Mantiram*, viz: *īśānam* (ஈசானம்); *nēttiram* (நேத்திரம்); *attiram* (அத்திரம்).

One *Patham*, viz: *Om* (ஓம்)—the last of the eighty-one.

The last fifteen of the two hundred and twenty-four *Puvanam*, viz: *nivirutti* (நிவிறுத்தி); *pirathūttei* (பிரதிட்டை); *sānti* (சாந்தி); *sāntiyāthūtham* (சாந்தியாதீதம்); *intikeri* (இந்தி-

கை); *tīvikei* (தீவிகை); *irāsikei* (இராசிகை); *mōsikei* (மோசிகை); *ūrttuvakei* (ஊர்த்துவகை); *viyāpini* (வியாபினி); *viyō-marūpini* (வியோமரூபினி); *anantei* (அனந்தை); *anāthei* (அனாதை); *anāsiruthei* (அனாசிறுதை).

Sixteen of the Sanskrit letters.

Two of the Primary Tattuvam, viz: *Satti* and *Sivam*.

These organs, with others implied, constitute *sāntiyāthātha-kalei*.

These *Kalei* are of great importance to the *Yōki* in his meditations. They determine the order in which he should proceed, grouping, in regular succession, all the particulars which he should dwell upon.

ARTICLE V.

ON THE

HISTORY OF THE VEDIC TEXTS

BY

WILLIAM D. WHITNEY.

(Read October 27, 1858.)

ON THE
HISTORY OF THE VEDIC TEXTS.

IN the present condition of the Indian Vedas, as laid before us by the native manuscripts, or by the editions which Western erudition and industry are putting forth upon their authority, there is much to excite admiration and suggest inquiry. There is the general archæological interest attaching to records of the past of so remote an antiquity, of so primitive a type, and preserved to us in an extent so considerable. No other nation has placed in our hands so ample a literary representation of an equally distant epoch of its mental development. And this is the more remarkable, as the Indian mind is not one to which we can attribute an inclination to store up historical records. A people that, amid the abundance of its literary productions of every other class, has never originated anything which deserves the name of history, that has erected no national monuments, has yet, as if with a genuine scientific zeal, saved to its latest times a mass of material for the investigation of its earliest, compared with which the fragmentary recollections, traditions and myths, of most other ancient nations, appear but poor and scanty. And the wonder awakened by this circumstance is not lessened by a view of the external form and state in which they are presented to us. In spite of the immense period, more than two thousand years, which has elapsed since their commitment to writing, the antiquity of their dialect (partially obsolete even at the first, and growing ever more and more out of knowledge), and the usual unconscientious and uncritical carelessness of Indian transcribers and scholars, their text exists in a state of purity almost absolute, offering hardly a corruption or various reading to perplex their modern student. Here then are questions interesting both to the antiquarian and the phi-

lologist. What are the motives which have prompted to so remarkable a conservation, and what the means by which it has been rendered practicable, in the midst of so many opposing influences? Let us seek to find an answer to these and other kindred inquiries by tracing out in a general way the history of the Vedic texts, both before and after their compilation.

The materials from which such a history is to be constructed are for the most part only data derivable from the texts themselves, their form and arrangement as collections, and their mutual relations, and general considerations drawn from our knowledge of Indian antiquity. Native tradition, except so far as it has preserved, with the hymns, the names of their authors, has but little that is valuable to say respecting the subject. Some few notices are scattered through the mass of the theological literature, which may one day, when gathered and collated, cast some light upon it, but at present they are too obscure to be trusted. To us, however, in our present inquiry, names of individuals, or even names of places, are matters of but secondary importance. It concerns us rather to follow out the history in its more general features, and to recognize the spirit that has manifested itself in the succession of its events.

The general date and character of the Vedic records have been already explained in a previous communication to the Society,* and therefore need not be enlarged upon here. It was there made to appear that at the period more exclusively termed the Vedic, that represented by the earlier and larger portion of the hymns composing the *Rig-Veda*, the Indian race had as yet hardly made its way into India itself, was still struggling on the threshold of the country for its possession, a community of half-nomadic warriors, with deep religious feelings which found expression in sacred song, but unlettered, and with little leisure or inclination for the peaceful pursuits of literature. A long interval must have elapsed, then, before these sacred lyrics were gathered and committed to writing. But they were by no means suffered meanwhile to fall into oblivion: the memory of the nation had seized them with a grasp which only grew firmer as they grew older. They sprang up as, in a sense, the free

* See *Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc.* vol. iii. pp. 291, ff.

and natural expression of the devotional feelings cherished by the whole people toward the gods in whom it believed. Yet it was, of course, in certain individuals or families that the power of expression, the faculty of propitiating the divinities by acceptable address, chiefly inhered. The hymns themselves contain evidences enough, direct and indirect, of the high value placed upon them, and of the estimation in which was held the power of their production, and those possessed of this power. And this reverential regard went on to increase rather than diminish, along with the gradual transition of the religion from a more spiritual to a more formal character. Instead of passing out of remembrance or becoming superseded, as their dialect fell into partial forgetfulness, and as both the popular and priestly creeds of after generations became ever farther removed from that which they represented, the respect which they commanded became a kind of superstitious reverence. Looked upon at first as the best accompaniment and recommendation of worship offered to the gods, they came to be held indispensable parts of worship, its only efficient medium: they identified themselves with the religion of the race as its expression, so that selections were made from them for the ordinary purposes of the ceremonial, and their phraseology became in a measure the natural language of discourse upon religious subjects: they were acknowledged as the groundwork of all theological and philosophical speculation: an inspired origin, and a supernatural virtue and efficacy were attributed to them, making their minutest details matters of essential importance, and to be preserved with jealous care. Meantime, also, the families in which they had originated, and who derived from them perhaps their first title to especial consideration, continuing still to retain by right of inheritance their peculiar custody and their employment in the services of religion, participated both in kind and degree in the augmented regard with which they were honored, and came by degrees to constitute a peculiar class, possessors of the inspired word, and privileged mediators between the divinities and their worshippers. And it could not but be their highest interest to preserve in unimpaired remembrance the sacred hymns which constituted so important a source of their influence and authority.

Such were the causes, of a religious or religio-superstitious, and not of a historic, nature, which procured the careful and accurate conservation of the Vedic lyrics during the period of their oral transmission. But there arrived at last a time when they were to be rescued from the charge of tradition alone, and given over into the more trusty keeping of written documents. At what precise point in the history of the Indian race this took place, it is not easy to determine. But it cannot have been earlier than at some time posterior to the transferral of Indian supremacy and culture from the plains of the Penjab to the great fertile valley of Hindustan. For it was not until after the new seats of the race had been fairly entered upon quiet possession of, external foes driven off, internal feuds pacified, and the advantages of that rich country, which demanded so little labor to be expended in winning a sustenance from it, and left so much leisure for higher pursuits, had been enjoyed for a season, that an epoch of such literary activity as must be assumed to have preceded and accompanied the recording of the Vedic texts, can be supposed possible. During the interval had taken place the development of Brahmanism, at least in all its essential features; the separation of the priestly caste, and the consolidation of its power. It was now the ruling class, foremost in authority, foremost also in culture and knowledge, representing the collected intellect of the nation. And it is not to be supposed that its members had been content to remain in inactive possession of their sacred hymns, recognizing them only as important sources of their power, to be retained and employed as its instruments. They regarded them likewise as their most valuable treasure, the inspired foundation of their faith, the germ of their religious and philosophic science; and as such, the worthy objects of especial examination and study. The Brâhmanas, the second class of Vedic writings, are to us a sufficient evidence of the kind of systematic investigation to which the sacred texts, even before their compilation, had been subjected in the schools of the priesthood. When therefore the necessary time of preparation was past, and an era of active literary effort had been ushered in, the idea of placing upon record these precious relics of the past could not be long in suggesting itself to the minds of those who had them in custody. It

was but a continuance in a new form of the same care which had already long handed them down from generation to generation : a next step forward in the series of labors which had been spent upon them from the beginning.

But at the time when the task of compilation was entered upon, the mass of material which it had to deal with was no longer precisely what it had been at the first. We have spoken as yet only of the hymns of a single period, the oldest. General analogies, and the great similarity of their style and language, justify us in assuming them to have been the production of a particular period, a time of special poetical inspiration ; such an assumption, too, would materially aid in accounting for the extreme regard in which they so soon came to be held, as if by a generation that had itself lost the faculty of independent origination, and was reduced to cherish and to employ as its religious expression the legacy of a more highly-endowed age ; and yet farther, it would explain why, although hymns are found included in the canon which exhibit a state of things comparatively very modern, most of the intermediate steps of development are but scantily, if at all, represented. The whole succeeding time, however, had not remained entirely unproductive. Partly, doubtless, the genuine spirit of poetry and religion which inspired the earliest singers, had maintained itself for a time in existence, and had not been dumb ; partly the possession of the songs already composed had prompted to imitations of them, copying with more or less faithfulness their form and tone ; and partly the new and less exalted spirit of the later time had found its own separate expression. Thus a considerable body of lyrics of another epoch had appended itself to those which the tradition had in the beginning undertaken to preserve. Their later and less sacred origin, however, would seem to have been in general distinctly recognized. They were not confounded with the well-attested productions of the ancient sages, but held apart by themselves, and variously regarded by different authorities as authentic and inspired, or the contrary.

It is moreover evident that so extensive a body of poetic matter as the Vedas taken together make up, could not remain long in the keeping of oral tradition without undergoing in some measure corruption and alteration. Especially considering that the language in which they were composed

was gradually growing antiquated, its vocabulary passing out of use, its forms becoming modified, it could not be that all the zealous care expended upon them would keep them quite free from verbal, or yet more extensive, changes: their phraseology would become modernized; some passages especially removed from comprehension might become hopelessly distorted, or be consciously amended into greater intelligibility. The same matter would in different hands and under different circumstances be preserved with different degrees of fidelity: so, especial reverence for the sanctity of certain portions might keep them purer, or constant use in ceremonial service might stereotype more decidedly the passages thus employed. At the time of compilation, then, there would be in existence versions more or less at variance with one another of much of the material from which the compilation was to be made.

Examining now the different collections, with an eye to the relations in which they may appear to stand to the thus stated condition of the material which the tradition had handed down, we find in the first place that the main collection, the *Rik*, is plainly composed of heterogeneous matter. Its first seven books are of one character, arranged upon one plan, primarily according to their authors, secondarily according to the divinities to whom they are addressed: they may be deemed to comprise the oldest, most authentic and most sacred hymns; to have been held by the tradition as a complete and congruous whole; probably to have been first and separately assembled and arranged. The eighth and ninth books exhibit a different system of internal arrangement, or a want of any system; in many instances, too, the tradition is at fault respecting their authorship, and has to ascribe them to fictitious or mythical personages: some of them are given to authors whose collected hymns are contained in the previous books, and would hardly have been left out of their proper place there with the rest, if acknowledged as genuine by the same authority that compiled the latter. It might not be safe, however, to assert the existence of anything in their language or character which would prove them the product of another region or time. The tenth book resembles in respect to arrangement its two predecessors, and the unguine names are found with still greater frequency among its alleged authors: but farther

than that, it is full of the plainest evidences of a later origin, and doubtless includes many hymns of a time but little removed from that of the compilation itself. Even if, however, we are inclined to believe that the collection grew by degrees to its present bulk, we shall not be warranted in concluding that the whole body of hymns which it finally came to comprise were not in existence at the time when the first partial compilation was made. The intention was probably in every case to assemble all the hymns which the compilers were willing to accept as forming part of the sacred canon, and it was rather the canonical standard which was later, or by other hands altered so as to admit of including a wider range. Various circumstances, of place or person, may have operated to exclude from the collection hymns or passages which were fairly entitled to find place in it, and it is evident from the fragments found in the other Vedas of a character not unaccordant with that of the mass of the Rik, that the latter cannot lay claim to full completeness.

The Sâma and Yajus, in virtue of their character as liturgical collections, aim only at a secondary completeness; at presenting all the passages used in a certain ceremony, or body of ceremonies. With respect to the mass of material from which they are extracted, they include and represent the whole body of hymns which the Rik in its present form contains. The Sâma, indeed, makes its selections in much the greater part from the material of the eighth and ninth books of the Rik, a fact which has yet to receive its full explanation. Both include a certain amount of matter which the great historical collection does not exhibit: the Sâma only a few verses; the Yajus a much larger number, probably not far from half those of which it is composed: but many of these are of a class which would at any rate have been denied admission into the Rik. The Sâma shows no signs of having been increased from the extent in which it was originally compiled: the Yajus, however, has plainly received considerable augmentations: its connection with the religious ceremonials still in constant usage would naturally expose it to be altered in correspondence with any changes which the latter might undergo. Both exhibit many readings varying more or less considerably from those of the Rik: the Sâma in particular, in which the versions are claimed to be in the main decidedly older and more original

than those of the great historical collection: this would not prove it to be, as a collection, older than the latter, since its more antique character might be owing to the conserving influence of the ceremonial usage. To settle the question of priority between these two Vedas would be a difficult matter at present: both may safely be pronounced older than the Yajus. The deviations of the latter from the Rik text are neither so numerous nor so extensive as those of the Sâma, nor do they appear to possess any peculiar significance.

The Atharva is, like the Rik, a historical and not a liturgical collection. Its first eighteen books, of which alone it was originally composed, are arranged upon a like system throughout: the length of the hymns, and not either their subject or their alleged authorship, being the guiding principle: those of about the same number of verses are combined together into books, and the books made up of the shorter hymns stand first in order. A sixth of the mass, however, is not metrical, but consists of longer or shorter prose pieces, nearly akin in point of language and style with passages of the Brâhmaṇas. Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also found among the hymns of the Rik, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter; the rest is peculiar to the Atharva. Respecting their authorship the tradition has no information of value to give: they are with few exceptions attributed to mythical personages. The greater portion of them are plainly shown, both by their language and internal character, to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historic Veda, and even than its tenth book, with which they yet stand nearly connected in import and in origin. The condition of the text also in those passages found likewise in the Rik, points as distinctly to a more recent period as that of their collection. This, however, would not necessarily imply that the main body of the Atharva hymns were not already in existence when the compilation of the Rik took place. Their character would be ground enough for their rejection and exclusion from the canon, until other and less scrupulous hands were found to undertake their separate gathering into an independent collection. The nineteenth book is a kind of supplement to the preceding ones, and is made up of matter of a like nature which had either been left out

when they were compiled, or had been since produced. The twentieth and last book is a liturgical selection of passages from the hymns of the *Rik*, and it is not easy to see how it should have become appended to the *Atharva* as a portion of its text.

But while the four collections, when compared with one another, thus exhibit differences of reading in the portions common to two or more of them, are none, it may be enquired, to be found within the spheres of the individual collections? At the compilation of each there must have been a choice made by the compilers from among the different readings presented by the tradition: was the task performed in each case by such paramount authority that the text as established by it found universal reception, no new versions being set up in opposition to it? We read much of *Çâkhâs*, "schools," of the different Vedas: how far had they the same original text, differing only in their treatment and interpretation of it, and how far had they independent texts also? These are questions which in the present state of our knowledge can be but partially answered. With reference to the *Rik*, *Sâma* and *Âtharva*, although we have direct or indirect acquaintance with the texts of more than one school of each, we do not find that they differed from one another in respect to readings, but only as one accepted as a part of the canon some portion rejected by another. Nor among all the innumerable quotations from these texts to be found in the grammatical, exegetical and ceremonial works hitherto investigated have there been pointed out any deviations from the readings offered by the manuscripts of the present time. With the *Yajus* the case is very different: under that name are included two texts, the *White Yajus* and the *Black*, considerably varying from one another in contents, arrangement, and readings; and of each of these more than one version is preserved, with less striking, but still important, differences. Any explanation of this so remarkable dissimilarity between the *Yajus* and the other Vedas we must leave at present unattempted.

Having thus taken a view of the general circumstances attending the compilation of the Vedic texts, we now come to consider the particular manner in which the act of their commitment to writing was performed. We know, indeed, but very little of the history of alphabets and the art of

writing in India, but in the absence of any special evidence to the contrary we may assume that these texts were placed at the first in nearly the external condition in which they now lie before us: that the alphabet made use of was an ancient form of the Devanâgarî, essentially coincident with that of the present day, and that their orthographic form was the one which they still wear. At any rate, neither the ~~one~~ nor the other will have been devised for their express benefit. For although the system of sounds of the spoken Vedic was not so different from that of the Sanskrit that they should not both have been written accurately with the same characters, it was otherwise with the orthographic form: that was peculiarly Sanskrit and did not in all respects suit the Vedic texts, which accordingly had to undergo some degree of violence to be forced into it. It is well known, namely, with what extreme care the Sanskrit avoids the hiatus, or juxtaposition of two vowels. Except in one or two cases, where a consonant has fallen out between them, such a concurrence is never permitted: either the one or the other of them is dropped, or the former is converted into a semivowel, or the two are coalesced into one. The Vedic language, however, as the metre of the hymns proves beyond question, had to the very last no such dread of the hiatus, but allowed it with the utmost frequency as well in the interior of words as between two words: all the rules by which the Sanskrit avoids it are incessantly disregarded: their observance may be said even to constitute the exception, to have been simply admissible as a metrical expedient. And it is a circumstance very characteristic of the period at which the hymns must have been written down, that in the process all the rules of the later Sanskrit in respect to the hiatus are strictly followed: they are accordingly not written as they were spoken and are to be read: what is set down as one syllable is frequently to be taken apart into two, three, or possibly even four. Apart from this, which may be regarded as in some measure also required by the character of the alphabet made use of, it is probable that the phonetic peculiarities of the Vedic language are faithfully recorded in the written texts: they exhibit at any rate many special usages, or violations of the rules of the classic language. And the nature and degree of these variations, as appearing in different texts, or portions

of texts, are not without value as indications of comparative age or mutual relationship of the portions in question.

The texts thus recorded were then farther provided with a designation of the accentuation. This, although it in fact does no more than complete to the eye the representation of the spoken language, yet merits being made mention of as a special contribution of Indian scholarship to the exactness and integrity of the Vedic texts, since it was not a usual practice; saving these collections and a single Vedic work of the second rank, the *Çatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, no Indian text has its accent noted. It is a matter of high congratulation to us that the notation of it was added, not only because we have thus preserved to us the whole system of Indian accent in a much more satisfactory and distinct manner than if it could only have been constructed from the rules of the native grammar, but also because the accent is an aid of no small importance to the understanding of the text. For many forms coincident in orthography are, as in Greek, to be distinguished from one another by their different accent; farther, the accentuation of sundry words in a sentence depends upon the character of the sentence and the relations of its parts, and is accordingly indicative of those relations; and again, what is perhaps of most consequence, the nature of many compound or derivative words may be deduced from the tone given them, since the latter is not confined in point of place, nor otherwise euphonically variable, but rests on the syllable to which the general laws of formation assign it.

But texts, even when thus carefully committed to writing, and though defended by the extreme reverence with which their every word and letter was regarded by the Brahmins, as inspired by the highest divinity, were by no means insured against gradual corruption in the lapse of generations. Some farther expedient was needed to place their integrity out of danger. And this was found in the construction of a new text, or rather the re-writing of the text already fixed into a new form, which in all probability followed not long after. This was not a work undertaken for the sole and express purpose of guarding the sacred canon from corruption; its special end was rather exegetical; but, taken in conjunction with other means to be explained later, it at any rate effectually secured also the former object. As

already remarked, we are not to suppose the commitment to paper of the hymns to have been the absolute commencement of anything like a scientific treatment of them. Theological and philosophical speculation had been busying itself with their interpretation, and doubtless in some degree also philological and grammatical study with their form. And this latter class of investigations in particular could not but receive a new impulse, and advance with rapidity, when a written text was placed before it as the basis of study. Partaking of the etymologizing and analytic character which has always distinguished the Indian grammatical science, it set itself to separate the continuous and in part self-obscuring flow of speech into its constituent parts, the individual words. And its results were embodied in the production of an analyzed text (the so-called *pada-pāṭha*, "word-text," in contradistinction to the ordinary *saṃhitā-pāṭha*, "combination-text"). In this each part of speech, member of the sentence, is set apart and presented in its own proper form, uninfluenced euphonically by the other words with which it stands in connection. But farther yet than this was the process of dissection carried: the words themselves were divided into their component parts; an analysis clear up to the original root, indeed, was not attempted, but compounds were separated into their composing members, and the main secondary suffixes, and in some cases also the case-endings, were severed from the themes to which they were appended. Moreover, such Vedic peculiarities of orthography as were deemed to be mere irregularities occasioned by metrical or other similar causes, were rejected, and the words affected by them reduced to their normal form. This word-text rests upon the ordinary text as its absolute authority, never attempting to alter or amend one of its readings. It is simply the best effort which Indian scholarship was at that period capable of to take apart and present in its elements the language of the sacred hymns. It has for us, then, only a secondary authority, and we are at liberty to reject its teachings when we deem them clearly erroneous: as for instance, to amend an etymology asserted by the division of a word regarded as compound, or even to separate a clause otherwise into its component words. Yet, in the case of the Rik especially, they who fixed the new text were still so near to the time of the hymns themselves, had received

from tradition so correct an understanding of them, and performed their task with such skill and care, that it constitutes for us an authority of very considerable weight, from which it will be necessary only in rare instances decidedly to dissent.

It would evidently be possible from an examination of this analyzed text alone to derive a tolerably correct general view of the state of grammatical science at the time of its fixation. We are not left to this source alone, however, for information upon that point, for contemporaneously with, or not long after, the setting up of the word-texts, were got together little grammatical treatises having for their subject the Vedic texts. These are the so-called *Prâtiçâkhyas*; four such works are already known, belonging to the *Rik*, the *Atharva*, and the two divisions of the *Yajus* respectively: for the *Sâma* none is yet found, but that it exists, or has existed, can scarcely be doubted. It is necessary to guard against a misconception of the true character of these little works, liable to be derived from their title of Vedic grammars, and their description as the earliest extant records of Indian grammatical science. They do not at all take the whole phenomena of the Vedic language for their subject, and profess to furnish such an exhausting account of them as *Pânini* of the classical Sanskrit; neither do they assume the science of Sanskrit grammar, and undertake to display the peculiarities of the older dialect of the hymns as compared with it; nor are they the first productions of a science that is in its infancy, working its way through the various departments of grammatical inquiry in connection with certain texts, and recording its imperfect results: they are rather the offspring of a system fully developed in all its parts (as is shown by the grammatical phraseology employed by them, which is essentially the same that has remained in use through all after time), but confining itself here to the solution of a particular question. They base themselves primarily upon the existence, side by side, of the two parallel texts, and aim to give such an account of the difference between them that the one shall be convertible into the other. Or to speak more accurately, each supposes the existence in its analyzed state of the matter of the collection to which it attaches itself, and gives the system of rules and exceptions by which this is to be reduced to the

form of a combined and continuous text. Their department, then, is that of phonetics and euphony, of external form; and they adhere strictly to it: the whole subject of inflection, whether by declension or conjugation, and those of word-formation and syntax, are left quite out of sight in them. They do not indeed confine themselves to indispensable matter only, but enlarge somewhat upon the subjects which come under their survey: so more than one, perhaps all, of them, give an analysis and description of the sounds of the spoken alphabet, an account of the accents, definitions of grammatical terms, and the like; the one belonging to the Rik has also an interesting chapter on the general subject of the proper reading and pronunciation of the Vedic language, and devotes some attention to prosody, detailing and describing the metres made use of in its Veda: yet all this does not remove them from the department to which they belong, or change their true character and intent. They are still works which came into being in connection with the setting up of the word-texts of the Vedas, and which converted the latter, from instruments more especially of exegesis, into a complete and efficient apparatus for securing the preservation of textual purity. The two taken together, on the one hand the word-text, which by its nature was clearer, distincter, and less liable to corruption than the ordinary one, and which, maintaining an independent existence by the side of the latter, was a constant check upon its correctness, itself also in turn checked by it; and on the other hand the *Prâtīcākhyā* grammar, which precisely established the relation between the two, both in its general rules and in its exceptional irregularities—these two together are the external aids by which the scrupulous care of the Brahmans has been enabled to maintain the sacred texts throughout their whole history so free from corruptions and discrepancies of manuscripts. They are not, however, the only ones which native ingenuity devised for the purpose. A third form of text was originated with the express design of putting the canon beyond the reach of variation: it was called “step-text” (*krama-pāṭha*), and combined in itself both the other forms, presenting each word now in its independent and now in its combined state: as its name denotes, it went through the text step by step, attaining its object by successive repetitions of small portions. There were several

modifications of it ; the simplest was that which proceeded by steps of one word, but appending to each in turn its successor in the sentence, thus showing alternately its end and its beginning in the uncombined state. Rules for the formation of such texts are to be found in some, if not in all, of the *Prâṭicâkhyas*, and they had likewise their own special treatises. But manuscripts so written are very rare, and it would not appear that this expedient had ever been made sufficient use of to render it a very important auxiliary in the work of conserving the texts.

One other subordinate aid in this work deserves to be at least alluded to ; a class of writings termed *Anukramaṇi*, which gave in succession for every hymn of the collections to which they attached themselves, its author, the divinity to whom it was addressed, the number of its verses, and the metre of each : they were accordingly of service to preserve the division, detect interpolations, and prevent corruptions of such extent as would produce a change of metre.

This closes the account of the scientific labors of the Indians having as their direct object the preservation in purity of their sacred canon. The same end was indirectly more or less contributed to by the whole remaining mass of Vedic literature, with its innumerable citations of passages and expositions of their form, meaning, or application, ending finally in the gigantic commentaries, which with their thorough and detailed treatment, grammatical and exegetical, of the whole texts, drawing in to themselves the results of the labors of generations of investigators, worthily closed off the history of a philology which in many respects may fairly be pronounced without a parallel in the world.

ARTICLE VI.

THE

STATE AND PROSPECTS

OF THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN INDIA

BY

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(Read October 26, 1853.)

THE STATE AND PROSPECTS

OF THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN INDIA.

THE English language is our inheritance, and we expect to transmit it to our posterity. This inheritance, enriched as it is with the science and literature of the English nation for many centuries, we have reason to value very highly; and we naturally feel an interest in its extension in the world. It appears from the designs of Providence as developed in the course of events, that English is to be the language generally used in North America, and that in a few generations it will be vernacular over a larger part of the world and among a larger population than has ever yet used a common language. The state and prospects of North America, the extensive colonial possessions of England and her great and increasing dominions in Southern Asia, are reasons for believing that the English language is hereafter to exert an influence in the world far beyond any other language, ancient or modern. To some this prospect has appeared so pleasing and gratifying that they are cherishing the opinion that the English language will be everywhere generally understood, and at a late public anniversary a popular orator chose for his subject—"The English the future universal language."

A large part—probably more than three-fourths—of the population subject to the English Government, live in India, and the English possessions in Southern Asia appear likely to be yet further extended. It becomes therefore an interesting question, how far are these conquests likely to extend the knowledge and use of the English language in those countries? In examining this question, several facts and circumstances require to be taken into consideration.

1. The state of those countries when they became subject to the English Government. India and the other countries of Southern Asia in which the English power has been, or appears likely to be, established and perpetuated, have been long reckoned among civilized nations. For many centuries—probably for more than two thousand years—they had regular governments, and their history embraces dynasties of powerful kings and emperors. For centuries they have contained a large population, and they have well formed and some of them highly polished languages. They have some science, and the Sanskrit and Tamil people especially have much literature, ancient and modern, sacred and profane, which they hold in great veneration, and to which they are strongly attached. In these respects the inhabitants of India and the other countries of Southern Asia differ much from the aborigines of America, as well as of the Islands of the Pacific and of Australia, where the inhabitants were comparatively few in number and scattered over a great extent of country, having no written language and no literature of any kind, with few of the comforts and conveniences, and none of the arts and luxuries, of civilized nations. To the conquerors of people of this character and in these circumstances it appeared easier to communicate a knowledge of their own language than to acquire the languages of so many different uncivilized tribes, and then reduce them to system and order, and so make them a proper medium of communication for a Christian and civilized people.

2. Another means by which nations have extended their language with their power, has been by emigration to the conquered countries and permanent settlement in them. But in tropical climates the European constitution cannot endure the out-door labor which is requisite in order to carry on the various necessary occupations of life. This is an established fact. The efforts of the Portuguese, the Spanish and the Dutch to found colonies in different parts of Southern Asia, and in Eastern and Western Africa, with the expectation that they would become self-perpetuating and increasing communities, and retain the complexion, language, religion, customs and manners of their respective nations, have proved to be failures. Such colonies, in all instances, soon began to deteriorate. Some of them, of

which great hopes were entertained, have become extinct, and in other places they have mingled with the indigenous population of the country, and are becoming assimilated to them in circumstances and character. The conquests of the English in Southern Asia were subsequent to those of the nations above-mentioned, and so, having the advantage of their experience, they have never attempted to found any colonies in their Asiatic possessions. The very low price of labor in all those countries is also one of the causes which have prevented emigration to them from England. Europeans could not subsist upon the common rate of wages in those countries, without adopting, to a great extent, the habits and customs of the inhabitants in respect to food, clothing, houses, etc.; and to do this would soon prove destructive to health and life. For these reasons, the English have never emigrated to any of their possessions in Southern Asia so as to form any self-perpetuating community. Nor is it likely they will ever form any community there, which will use the English as their vernacular language. All classes of people who go from England to those countries, whether to engage in the service of the Government or for pursuits of private enterprise, intend at some future time to return to England, or go to some other congenial climate for their permanent home. Many situations can be filled only by those who have acquired a knowledge of one or two native languages, and who have shown these qualifications by examinations before committees appointed for this purpose; and Europeans generally learn enough of the language in use where they are, to hold communication with the people in matters of business and in social and official intercourse. The native language thus becomes the medium of communication between the European and the native population; and it soon becomes as natural for Europeans to use the native language, in their intercourse with the people of the country, as it is for them to use the English language in their intercourse with the people of their own nation. Still, some natives acquire a colloquial knowledge of English, by hearing it used, and by using it in intercourse with Europeans before they have acquired any native language, and with some who are only transient residents in the country. The number of this class of natives is small, their pronunciation of English is bad, their use of it is ungram-

matical, often scarcely intelligible, and their knowledge of it is very limited. From these statements and remarks it will be apparent that the people of India generally have not so many means and opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the English language in connection with the Government, or in matters of business, or in social intercourse, as might be naturally expected and have been generally supposed.

3. The languages of conquering nations have sometimes spread in their acquired possessions by intermarriages and a mixture of the nations or races. It was so with some nations which obtained possession of countries composing parts of the Roman empire. But the English language is not likely to spread much in India in this manner. Europeans differ so much and in so many ways from the inhabitants of the country, that intermarriages to any considerable extent are not likely ever to take place between them. Almost universally, where Europeans have lived for any considerable time in Southern Asia, there are some of a mixed race; and in India this class of people generally understand the English, and also some native language in use where they live. But this class is not large, nor are they likely to become numerous. They have not now, nor do they appear likely to acquire, a high social position, nor to exert much political influence. The name by which they are now generally known, is Indo-Briton. Some recent researches and statistics in connection with the renewal of the East India Company's Charter by Parliament, do not exhibit this class of people in so favorable a state in respect to number, character and prospects as was generally expected.

4. Another and yet more important cause affecting the state and prospects of the English language in India, is the regulations and policy of the Government. In the Supreme Courts of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the English language is used. But the jurisdiction of these Courts is limited to the above-mentioned cities and to such Europeans in other parts of the country as are not subject to military law. Much of the business in these Courts is transacted through interpreters. In the public offices also in these cities, the business, in its summary and written forms, is generally transacted, and the records are kept, in the English language; and the work of this kind furnishes employment for many

persons, as translators, copyists, etc. Hence a knowledge of English becomes a necessary qualification for employment in these offices. The situations (as they are called) in them are generally filled by natives of the country. But their knowledge of English is often very imperfect, being limited to the mere routine of business, while they seldom if ever use it in their families, or in social intercourse, or in matters of business with their countrymen. In the sea-ports of Southern Asia, the English language is used in correspondence, accounts, etc., in the European mercantile houses; and a considerable number of natives who understand English more or less, are thus employed. But the European merchants are a changing class of the population, and only a small part of the property and commerce of these cities is in their hands. When one leaves the large sea-ports, the business of all kinds with the native population and among them is found to be transacted in the language of their respective provinces. Whether in the political, or the military, or the financial, or the judicial departments, all business is transacted in the languages of the country, and the English language is only used by Europeans in their social intercourse, and in their business transactions with each other and with the Government.

From the origin of the English power in India the importance of having some one language for general use through the country, has been a subject of much consideration and inquiry, and has engaged the attention of many learned men in the employment of the Government, and of others connected with the cause of education and Christianity. The Mohammedan princes and emperors, who governed India for several centuries, retained the Persian language in use among themselves and in official transactions. The English, following the example of their predecessors, used the Persian in the courts and in their official transactions in Bengal and Northern India for several years, and some learned men in Government employment were of the opinion that it should be retained, and means be used to make it the common language of the country. Under the Mohammedan sovereigns, the Hindostanee became the common medium of intercourse among the great body of people professing their faith, and it made some progress among the Hindoo population. Hindostanee may be called the

military language of India. It is easily acquired for colloquial purposes, and is more used than any other by Europeans in their intercourse with the native population. For these reasons, some have been of the opinion that all lawful and proper means should be used to extend it, and make it the general language of all classes of people. Some have set forth the claims of the Sanskrit to become the general language of India, and some have been of the opinion that English—the language of the governing power of the country—should become the general language, and that the influence of the Government in its official transactions, and in the patronage it bestows on education, should be directed to this end.

Each of these different languages has had able and learned advocates for its being made the *lingua franca* of India; but there are so many objections and obstacles in the way, that no one of them is likely to be adopted, or to secure much influence or effort for extending it. The need of any such general language, though experienced by Europeans who are often changing their places of residence, is not felt to much extent by the native population. Those living in the rural districts and villages, have seldom occasion to use any but their vernacular tongue, and those who live in the cities, easily acquire knowledge enough of the languages there used to transact their necessary business. To the educated natives of India the idea or plan of making any one language supersede those now in use, and so become the common language of the whole country, would appear as unreasonable, as it would appear to the educated people of Europe, were it proposed to select some language, as the English, or the French, or the German, and endeavor to make it supersede all the others, and so become the general and common language of all the people of Europe. Indeed, such a plan in India would in some respects appear more unreasonable, as the languages there have each generally its distinct and different alphabet. More extensive and accurate knowledge of the people and literature of India will show that the number of distinct languages is not so great as has been generally supposed—that some, which have been enumerated as different languages, are merely dialects, and of limited use. Some of these dialects will gradually disappear. The opinion which, after much discussion and considera-

tion in the different Boards of Education, now generally prevails, is that it is not expedient to use any means with a view of making any one language common or general through the country—that the people of different parts of India who have distinct and well formed languages, as the Tamil, the Canarese, the Teloofoo, the Marathee, the Goojurathee, the Bengalee, used each by a population of from seven or eight to twelve or fifteen millions, should retain each its own language, and that suitable and needed works of religion, science and literature, either original or translated, should be prepared and printed, as soon as practicable, in the different languages. In this work of preparing such a native literature, very encouraging progress has been made in several languages.

We are now to consider the state and prospects of the English language in India as it is affected by education. From the commencement of the English power in India, a knowledge of both the English and native languages has been a valuable and important qualification for business, and so this acquisition has been an object of desire and exertion. The low price of labor in all Southern Asia, compared with what it is in England, must always have made it pecuniarily an object for the English to employ the natives of the country in all kinds of work or business for which they could be found, or could become, qualified. And when the power of the English became permanently established, it was for their interest to encourage the acquisition of their language by the natives, that they might become qualified for service in the various departments of business. And as the power and dominions of the English have gradually increased from a few factories, or trading establishments, to the supremacy of India and the general control over a hundred and fifty millions of people, so there has been a constantly increasing demand for persons qualified for business by their knowledge of the English language. And as such qualifications were not common, and could not be acquired without much study and time, they have been generally well remunerated for their service. Every increase of the British dominions created more situations for which a knowledge of the English language was an indispensable qualification, and so there has been a constantly increasing demand for English education. Under the native

Governments, all situations were filled by natives, but as these provinces have come successively under the English Government, all the more honorable and highly remunerating places have been filled by Europeans, and only those of the second or third rate are given to the natives. This change in the political state of the country, and the consequent proceedings of the governing power they feel very much, both in its humiliating influence upon their character and its impoverishing effect upon their circumstances; and many of them endeavor to acquire a knowledge of the English language in the hope that it will in some way be a qualification for business, or a recommendation for employment.

The educational institutions in which the English language is taught in India are of three kinds.

1. Private schools, or those which are supported by tuition. There have been several such in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. They have been supported chiefly by the higher classes of the native population, and many persons have been educated in them.

2. Schools connected with missionary and other benevolent societies. At most of the large missionary stations are schools of this character. Some of these have a large number of scholars, and good means of instruction. The primary object of such schools is moral and Scriptural education, with a view to prepare such persons, when educated, to become Christian teachers, catechists, and preachers among their countrymen. But these schools are generally open for all classes of people on such terms as induce Hindoos and Mohammedans, as well as professed Christians, to become connected with them. Many who were Hindoos and Mohammedans when they first entered these schools, became convinced, in the course of their education, of the truth of the Christian religion, publicly professed their faith in it, and are now in the employment of Missionary societies, preaching the Gospel to their own people. Some of these are well educated, every way respectable in talents and character, and very useful in the work of promoting Christianity in India.

3. Schools supported by the Government. The Government, in its various departments, has occasion to employ a great number of people, and it is necessary, in order to fill particular situations and for the performance of some pecu-

liar kinds of service, that a part of those to be employed should understand the English language. For this purpose the Government appropriates very considerable sums from the revenues of the country to education, and the high schools contain means and facilities for learning English. The course of study in the English department of these schools is sufficient for acquiring a good knowledge of the language, and obtaining a very considerable acquaintance with its science and literature. Many who commence the study of English, finding it more difficult of acquisition than they expected, or not seeing so much prospect of employment as they had hoped for at first, become discouraged and abandon it. Many also acquire just knowledge enough of the language to converse in slow, familiar and set phraseology, but not enough to use it easily and fluently, nor to understand it when so used by others, nor to read newspapers and common books with ease and intelligence. Such persons use the language no more than is necessary. They seldom attempt to read an English book, or to improve their knowledge of the language after leaving school. Indeed, many of them, when they succeed in obtaining employment, regard their object in acquiring the language as accomplished, and so retain only what they have occasion to use as copyists, accountants, etc. But in these schools, some, though but a small part of those who commence the study of the language, acquire a correct use of it, become able to converse in it with ease and propriety, and obtain considerable knowledge of English science and literature. Yet even this class never, so far as I have known, use the English language in their families, and very seldom in any social intercourse or transactions of business, unless with Europeans.

The vernacular languages of India contain but little science or literature of any value; and something more than these languages contain is required for mental discipline and practical knowledge, in the course of education. The Sanskrit, which sustains a relation to the present languages of the country similar to that which Latin does to the modern languages of Europe, however useful the study of it may be for discipline of mind, and with reference to philology, ethnography, and other objects of antiquarian research, yet contains but little practical science, or authentic history,

or correct religious doctrine, and is no where now a vernacular language. In these circumstances, when education is to be extended beyond any vernacular language, the English—the language of the governing power of the country, with all its science and literature, and especially its numerous and excellent works on moral and religious subjects—has the first claims to attention.

In America and Europe the professions of theology, law and medicine, furnish the great field of employment for the educated classes. These professions are equally open to all, and they require a large part—generally a majority—of those who obtain a collegiate or liberal education, to fill them. But these professions scarcely yet exist among the native population of India. There, educated men, who must engage in some business for support (and there are very few who are not in this state), generally look to the Government for service, or to teaching, as their employment. In the altered political state and relations of the country—all the more honorable and lucrative situations being filled by Europeans—the higher classes of the native population find it exceedingly difficult to obtain any suitable occupation and means of respectable support, and so they naturally turn their thoughts to the study of the English language, in the hope that it will prove a qualification for business, or a recommendation for employment. This desire to learn English has been increasing for some years past, and probably the number now engaged in acquiring it, is three times as large as it was fifteen or twenty years ago. But, even at the present time, many who become thus educated, find it very difficult, and some find it impossible, to obtain such employment as they expected. The supply of such educated talent is increasing faster than the demand, and it will not be many years before the principal motives in which this strong desire for English education had its origin, will cease, or at least will exert less influence than they have had for some years past.

From the view which has been taken of the state of the English language in India, or Southern Asia, it appears: That England has not founded, and is not likely to found, any colonies in any of those countries, and that there is no native community, nor any class of people, except the Indo-Britons, who use English as their vernacular language.

That the English people who go to India, expect to reside there only for a limited time, and then to go to some more congenial climate. That while in India they generally learn enough of the native languages for social and official intercourse with the native population, and that the business of the Government is chiefly transacted in the languages of the country. It also appears: That the English language is used in the Supreme Courts of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay; and that in some of the Government offices and mercantile houses, in the same cities, many natives more or less educated in the English language find employment. That many among the native population have a strong desire to learn English, and are now engaged in the study of it, in private, missionary, and Government schools and colleges. That, of those who begin this study, many do not acquire sufficient knowledge for any practical purpose, and only a small part of them learn it thoroughly. That when English education among the native population shall exceed the demand for it as a qualification for employment, then one of the principal motives for acquiring it will cease, and the desire now so strong will exert much less influence. That the education of the great body of the people will always be in their respective vernacular languages, and that those languages will be improved and enriched by works of science and literature original and translated, in which encouraging progress has been made. That the English language, including its science and literature, will generally be a branch of education in the high schools and colleges; and all who aspire to a liberal education, will be expected to have some knowledge of it. But that the English is not likely in any part of India or Southern Asia to supersede the native languages, nor to become vernacular in any large community.

ARTICLE VII.

THE

T A L A I N G L A N G U A G E

BY

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(Read May 19, 1853.)

THE TALAING LANGUAGE.

COMPARATIVE philology is a science which, judging from its progress during the last half century, is destined to settle the question of the unity of the human race on immutable ground; and to do more for general history than all the books of Europe and the manuscripts of Asia together. Fifty years ago, there was a wide abyss between the western world and India, but comparative philology has become the railway of history, uniting the nations; and Berlin and Benares are proximate neighbors.

A comparison between the etymologies of Johnson and Webster shows something of the progress that has been already achieved, but Webster, though rich in his illustrations from the Arabic, rarely advances beyond the Indus, and never crosses the Brahmaputra. The great English lexicographer of the next century will probably lead the student into the land of Han, and among the Indu-Chinese nations. *Fire* is traced by Webster through the various European tongues; but he might have found equally striking resemblances in China, where it is *jin*; or in Siam, where it is *fai*; or in Pegu, where it is *pmant*; or in Burmah, where it is *mī*; or in the Karen jungle, where it is *me* and *me-ū*. So *name* is, in Chinese, *mīng*; in Burman, *nāma* and *nūme*; in Karen, *mīng* and *mī*; and in Talaing, *yēmu*. *Fly* is, in Chinese, *fei*; in Burman, *pyan*; and in the Tavoy dialect, *plan*. The substantive verb which has *s* for its radical consonant in the Indu-European languages, is *shee*, in Chinese; *shi*, in Burman; and in the Tavoy dialect, *hi*, which allies it with the Pali root *hu*, from which the present and future tenses of the verb *to be* are often formed.* Similar illustra-

* In conjugation the vowel of the root is changed, as:

Present tense.			First Future tense.			Second Future tense.		
Per.	Sing.	Plur.	Per.	Sing.	Plur.	Per.	Sing.	Plur.
1	hoti	honti	1	hehiti	hehinti	1	hohissati	hohissanti
2	hose	bot'ha	2	hebisi	hehit'ha	2	hohissasi	hohissat'ha
3	homi	homa	3	hehimi	hehima	3	hohissami	hohissama

tions of the identity of European roots with words of Eastern Asia might be multiplied indefinitely.

Perhaps a greater variety of nations and a greater diversity of languages, are found in Farther India than in any other region of equal area, and yet no one appears to be indigenous. The Indu-European races have crossed the Brahmaputra, and established themselves and their language in Assam. The Tartars have poured in from Tibet on the North; and, beside many hill-tribes, the Burmese, through their language, give indubitable evidence of Tibetan origin. On the East, the Tonquinese and Cochin-Chinese are known, from their tongues, to be offsets from the Chinese; while the Malay tribes have come up from the South, and possessed the land to 10° N. L.; and the latter have extended their language to the islands on the coast West of the peninsula, which are inhabited, two or three degrees farther North, by the Selungs speaking a dialect of Malay origin. The Nicobar Islands, four or five degrees West of the Selung Islands, are peopled by a race with a radically different tongue, which perhaps migrated from Sumatra; while the Andamans North of them, as well as the interior of the large Nicobars, are inhabited by a negro race, speaking a language widely different from any known in the East, but polysyllabic, and probably related to that spoken by the Negro races of Polynesia.

The number of nations among the Indu-Chinese who speak languages derived from the Chinese is much less, however, than is usually supposed. The Tai, which includes the Siamese, Laos, Shyan, Khamti and Ahom, is probably derived from the Chinese. Its tones, its alphabetic powers and its grammatical principles, are Chinese. It has an initial *b*, and a few final consonants, not found in the general language of China, but which all exist in the dialects; and it is with the spoken, and not with the written language, that the comparison can properly be made. These Tai-speaking tribes, which inhabit a belt of land running North from the Gulf of Siam to China, form the western limit of the purely monosyllabic languages. West of the Tai race, and immediately North of the tribes speaking the polysyllabic Malay tongues,* was originally the kingdom of the Talaings, ex-

* The Tavoyers, now found between the Malays and the Talaings, are a colony of Burmese from Aracan. This is evident from their own traditions.

tending from 15° N. L. to the neighborhood of Prome, three or four degrees farther North, and from Cape Negrais to the Siamese boundary.

The Talaing language has the intonations characteristic of the Chinese family, but to a much less extent than the Chinese itself, the Tai, or the Karen. The roots are principally monosyllabic; but, as in both Burman and Karen, many are formed on the polysyllabic principle: a consonant, most frequently a smooth mute, with its inherent vowel, constituting a syllable, without any signification in itself, being prefixed to a monosyllabic root to form a new word. Thus, *kami*, new; *khaming*, a turban; *tala*, master, lord; *pareh*, ugly; *yěmu*, name—with a multitude of others, differ in no respect from dissyllabic words in the Indu-European tongues.

The Talaing is remarkable for its numerous compound consonants, many of which are not found either in Chinese, or in the other Indu-Chinese languages. Nearly all the smooth and aspirated mutes, and the liquids, are compounded with the nasals *m* and *n*; forming such compounds as *km*, *klm*, *chm*, *chlm*, *tn*, *tlm*, *dm*, *pm*, *plm*, *mn*, *kn*, *kln*, *sn*, *lm*, *sm*, and others. Some of these appear to be abbreviations of polysyllabic words. For instance, *nnih*, man, is clearly of common origin with the Sanskrit *manuja*; and *srom*, snake, must have the same source as the Hebrew שָׂרָף, and the Cashmeercee *sarcep* and *sriph*.

The grammar of the language is exceedingly simple: the subject usually preceding the verb, and the object following it, as in English. Like all the other Indu-Chinese languages, grammatical distinctions are made by particles, prefixed or suffixed; but these are much fewer in Talaing than in either Tai, Burman, or Karen. Noun-particles are usually prepositions, as in western languages. For example:

<i>pdoa sangi</i> or <i>sngi</i> ,	in the house.
<i>atu</i> “	on “ “
<i>sman</i> “	under “ “
<i>gamok</i> “	before “ “
<i>plot</i> “	behind “ “

and from the peculiar dialect which they speak, it being nearly related to the Aracanese Burman. There are, it may be also added, several large Talaing settlements in the Province of Tavoy, where the villagers speak Talaing, and where Talaing is exclusively taught in the monasteries. At what period these colonies were formed, is not known.

In its vocables, the Talaing is the most isolated language in Farther India. Its roots are not allied to Tai, Burman, Karen, Tounghthu, Kyen, Kemee, Singpu, Naga, Manipuri, nor any other known language spoken by the Indu-Chinese nations.* Nor is it cognate with the Chinese, or Tibetan, or any other of the Tartar tongues of which specimens have been published. It is not related to the Sanskrit or Hindee families of northern Hindustan; nor to the cultivated tongues of Southern India and Ceylon, the Teluga, Carnat-aka, Taluva, Tamil, Malayalam, Malabar, and Singalese. I have compared the Talaing with vocabularies of all these and others, and find it radically different; though here and there words of apparently common origin may be discovered. Whence, then, has it been derived? In central Hindustan, there are several wild tribes, inhabiting the mountainous regions, which are called Koles, Oraons, and Goands, embracing various sub-tribes known as Sontals, Bhumijas, Mundalas, Rajimalis, and by other names, whose languages seem to have had a common origin. The first notice of these people which I have seen, was published by Lieut. Tickell in 1840, in a paper on the Koles, whom he denominates Hos. This paper affords the most complete view of the people and their language, that has yet been made public; and from this it is apparent, singular as it may seem, that the Talaing language has a radical affinity with the Kole. The first six numerals, the personal pronouns, the words for several members of the body and many objects of nature, with a few verbs, are unquestionably of common origin; while many other words bearing a more remote resemblance, are probably derived from the same roots. The following brief vocabulary is given for comparison.†

<i>English.</i>	<i>Talaing.</i>	<i>Kole.</i>
man	mnih	male
head	kdop	kupe
eye	mot	met
nose	muh	mooa
ear	kto	khetway

* I have not been able to obtain any specimens of the language of Cambodia for comparison; and cannot, therefore, affirm or deny any thing respecting that.

† See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for Nov., 1840; and for Nov., 1848. Words for comparison have been taken from both articles.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Talaing.</i>	<i>Kole.</i>
mouth	paing	bai
tongue	lêtaik	alang
hand, arm	tau	tee
breast	to	toa
foot	jaing	suptijanga
mother	yài	aya
"	mi	mai
horn	krang	dring
bone	jaut	jang
oil	kling	ning
tiger	klé	kula
hog	klik	kis, sukri
fish	kă	haku
fowl	chaing	seem
egg	khmai	kirpan
earth	ti	ote
sun	tngoa	singi
moon	kétu	chandu
mountain	do	dongar, toke
stone	tmom	tongi
water	dai	dah
salt	bo	bekh, booloong
cocoa-nut	preau	boorka
weep	yeam	yam
hear	ming	mena
take	keat	kinda
fat	kron	kiriena
thin	sri	serua
thirst	litau	titang
hunger	klo	kire
I	oa	aing
thou	mneh	nien, am
he, she, it	nyeh	ini
this	nau	noa
one	mwoa	moy
two	bà	bai
three	pi	pia
four	paun	ponia
five	mesun	monaya
six	tareau	turia
to be	num	minna*

* A few words in this list might be referred to other languages: thus, the Malay word for fish is *ikan*; but the Malay is clearly not a cognate language. Again, the Chinese *h'oo*, earth, and *tsôh*, foot, are not very unlike the Talaing words, but more so than the Kole.

The Chinese, the Tai, the Burman, the Karen, and all the known languages of Farther India, including the Assamese, are known to use numeral affixes; while the Talaing language stands alone, and, like Occidental tongues, unites the numeral to the noun. Thus a Talaing says: *ākābaing bà*, two papayas; *tmom pi*, three stones; and *sngi paun*, four houses. While in Chinese, and in all the other Indu-Chinese languages, the numeral is united to an affix. The Kole has the same idiom as the Talaing. A singular noun, in Kole, is made plural by affixing *ko*; and in Talaing there is a plural-affix *tau*. But what confirms, still more, the idea of a common origin for the Talaings and Koles, is their name. One tribe among the Koles are called Oraons, who, at an unknown period, were driven by the Brahmanical Hindus from the neighborhood of the Ganges. "It is these Oraons," writes Lieut. Tickell, "who first give us accounts of a people called Moondas, whom they found in possession of Chootia Nag-poor." These Moondas, now, call themselves Hos, but are more generally known as Koles. *Moond*, their ancient name, is almost identical with *Moan*, the name by which the Talaings now call themselves; and it would be difficult to find any two nations, of a different origin, with names so nearly the same.

All history, Burmese as well as Talaing, represents the Talaings as a civilized people, and in possession of Buddhist teachers and the Buddhist Scriptures, at an earlier period than the nations around them. A Burman inscription on Ramree Island, dated A. D. 1785-6, states that the venerable Sona and the venerable Uttara introduced, and established, the religion of Buddha in Thadung B. C. 307; but that Buddhism did not become paramount in Burmah till A. D. 1057, when the Burmese monarch invited the learned from Thadung to settle in his capital at Pagan, where Buddhism was ultimately established, through the instrumentality of the descendants of Sona and Uttara.* According to the

* See *Journ. of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, for May, 1834, where the translator says: "Which was done through the instrumentality of Sonathera and Uttathera, and their disciples and survivors." In the previous part of the inscription, as translated, they are represented as coming to Thadung thirteen hundred and sixty-four years before, which shows that the old gentlemen, as well as their "survivors," were well entitled to the epithet "venerable," as *K'iera* may be adequately rendered. There is no such anachronism, however, in the original. In the Burman, there is only one word for "disciples and

Singalese books, Buddhaghosa's native country was Swarnabhumi, which, as I have shown in another place, was the ancient classic name of Pegu.* A Singalese compendium says: "In the sixth year of the reign of the king Maha-Naaone, and in the year of Budhu 930, the high-priest Buddothegooseke Terun-wahanse, coming to the island of Ceylon, composed the books called Visuddhimarge, etc. Upon his return to Swarnabhumiye, he composed the Turnpittike also, and employed himself in teaching the doctrine of Budhu."†

It seems highly probable, then, that the Hindus colonized Pegu at an early period; and this is confirmed by the fact that ancient Pali and Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in Malacca, not two hundred miles South of the Tenasserim Provinces, which prove that Hindu settlements formerly existed there, though they have left no other traces than a few half obliterated inscriptions on the rocks in the forest. The Hindu colonists in Pegu may have perpetuated themselves by amalgamation with some native tribe; and it appears from Aracan history, as quoted by Capt. Phayre, that a native tribe, called by the Burmese Thodun, have in fact been merged and lost in the Talaings. There is also a semi-civilized tribe scattered in Pegu, Burmah and the Tai country, who call themselves Paau, but who are better known as Tounghthus, who claim to have been the original inhabitants of Pegu. Their language, however, does not prove any intimate relationship with the Talaings; for, although it has a few words of common origin with words of the Talaing, the same may be affirmed of most of the languages spoken around them, and more especially of the Karen.‡

survivors," which is *anway*. The expression is curious, as showing that the first propagators of Buddhism in this country were not ascetics, for it is only applied, so far as I am aware, to lineal descendants.

* See *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. ii. p. 334.

† See Upham's *Sacred and Histor. Books of Ceylon*, vol. iii. p. 115. Turnour makes him a native of Magadha; but in Upham's translation of the Mahawanso it is merely said that he "came from Jambu-dwipa," a name which is as often applied to Pegu and Burmah, as to Hindustan. Upham's date, too, "the year of Budhu 930," is precisely the same as that in the Burmese books. The 940 of *Essai sur le Pali par Bournouf et Lassen* is probably an error of the press in the book from which they quote.

‡ I have reserved the Tounghthu for an article on the Karen language, with which it appears to be cognate.

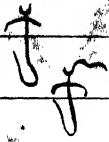
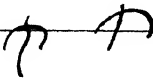










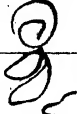



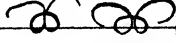

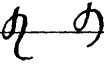



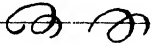



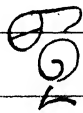




It does not appear probable, that the language of the Talaings was reduced to writing before the introduction of the Buddhist Scriptures, or more would have been found on record in relation to their early history. Nothing of their ancient history can be gathered from their books, beyond the representation that, in the days of Gautama and Asoka's missionaries, they were dwelling on the Gulf of Martaban, with Thadung for their capital. The alphabet now used is manifestly derived from the one which Prinsep regarded as having been in use in the third century before Christ. The approach of that ancient alphabet to the Talaing, may be traced through the Amaravati inscriptions, of which the characters are nearer the Talaing than any other alphabet that has been discovered in Hindustan. The next link is found in the fragment of an inscription from Tokoon in Malacca, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.^{*} This resembles the Amaravati, and both are characterized by having the tops of the letters, more especially right lines, surmounted by small curves. Another inscription, found also by Col. Low near Keddah in Malacca, approaches the Talaing much nearer, and proves a connection between the Talaings and the people of Malacca, at a former period.[†] The characters of these Malacca inscriptions agree with the Kutila of the ninth and tenth centuries, in which the vowel-marks of *e* and *o* precede the consonants to which they belong, as in the Talaing, Burman and all the Indo-Chinese alphabets; a form that has been obsolete in the Sanskrit for many centuries. A table of the alphabets of these inscriptions, so far as known, compared with the modern Talaing, is given in the following lithographed pages.

The *k*, which was originally a cross, like the Ethiopic *t*, had, when the second inscription on the Allahabad pillar was written, seven centuries after the first, the horizontal line slightly curved downwards; and in the Keddah inscription the curve has become a semicircle, so that the character resembles the Ethiopic *ku*. The next step, to the present character formed of two curves, was easy. The *n*, originally a perpendicular raised on a base line, resembling the Syriac *n* and the Cufic *ṣ*, with the base prolonged, had become a

^{*} See the Number for July, 1848.

[†] See *Journ. of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, for March, 1849.

COMPARISON OF ALPHABETS

<i>Tokoon</i>	<i>Keddah</i>	<i>Talaing</i>	
			<i>ka</i>
			<i>kà</i>
			<i>kri</i>
			<i>ke,ga</i>
			<i>keu,ga</i>
			<i>cha</i>
			<i>ch,chi</i>
			<i>ja</i>
			<i>n</i>
			<i>ta</i>
			<i>tu</i>
			<i>te</i>
			<i>to</i>
			<i>tha</i>
			<i>dī</i>
			<i>dha</i>

<i>Tokoon</i>	<i>Keddañ</i>	<i>Talaing</i>	
	၀	ဝ	<i>dha</i>
၁	၁	၁	<i>na</i>
၂		၂	<i>nà</i>
၃		၃	<i>no</i>
၄	၄	၄	<i>nna</i>
၅		၅	<i>nri</i>
		၆	<i>pa</i>
၇	၇	၇	<i>pra</i>
		၈	<i>ba</i>
၉		၉	<i>bu</i>
	၁၀	၁၀	<i>bha</i>
	၁၁	၁၁	<i>bhà</i>
	၁၂	၁၂	<i>ma</i>
	၁၃	၁၃	<i>m</i>
	၁၄	၁၄	<i>man</i>
၁၅	၁၅	၁၅	<i>nman</i>
၁၆	၁၆	၁၆	<i>ya</i>

<i>Tokoon</i>	<i>Keddah</i>	<i>Talaing</i>	
	၁	၆၀	yo
	၁၁	၆၀၀	yo
	၂	၇	ra
		၆၇	re
	၃	၆၇	ro
	၄ ၅	၆	và
	၆	၆	vi
	၇	၀°	van
၈		၆၆	vve
၉	၁၀	၁၁	hà
	၁၂ ၁၃	၆၀၀	he
၁၄	၁၅	၁၆	ga
၁၇		၁၈	smia
၁၉		၂၀	sya
	၂၁	၂၂	e

perpendicular with a loop, in the Gaya alphabet; and this is precisely the form of the letter in both the Malacca inscriptions; and when written under the line, it has the same form in the modern Talaing. The square Pali must have been formed subsequently to this, for it adds to the character a double line at the top. The *t'h*, which retained its ancient form of a circle with a dot in it, to the fifth century, resembling the Phœnician *t*, is changed, in the Keddah character, to a circle with a horizontal diameter; approaching the Tibetan of the seventh century, where the same letter is a rectangle with a diagonal drawn in it. To draw the line perpendicularly, as in the square Pali, was the next step. The character in its original form of a circle with a dot in it, is still used by the Talaings, though with the sound of *b*; and it is remarkable that it has no place in any other alphabet in Farther India.

The alphabets found on the eastern coast of this peninsula present unequivocal marks of a Singalese origin. The Cambodian has letters differing widely in their forms from those used on the western side, and almost identical with the Singalese, as, for example, *kh* and *v*. The Siamese alphabet, which is the most modern East of the Ganges, was probably formed within the last four or five centuries, on the basis of the Cambodian. The ancient Singalese is said to have been composed of seven elements; but the modern Siamese is still more simple: the loop with a turn, a straight line, and the three sides of a rectangle, with some modification of one of its sides, being the only elements which enter into the Siamese alphabet.

In the interior of the country, on the contrary, the alphabets appear to have had a Talaing origin. This is distinctly seen in the Laos, which has in several instances two characters to represent the same consonant-sound, but with different inflections, as in Talaing where the inherent vowel also varies. Thus, the character marked *ga* in the table, as corresponding to the Pali letter of that power, is pronounced *kě* in the spoken Talaing; and *ba* is pronounced *pě*. The Ahom, Khamti and Shyan alphabets, it appears to me, have also been formed from the Talaing, rather than from the Burman, to which they have been referred, because the broad diphthong *au* is made by a dash to the right over the consonant, as in Talaing, while in Burman no such char-

acter exists. The same dash may be seen in some old Sanskrit inscriptions, referred, I believe, to the fourth or fifth century, where it represents à,* and the inscriptions from Malacca exhibit an infusion of Sanskrit, such as is never seen in writings from Ceylon. One line in each of the Malacca inscriptions contains the same words, and for the convenience of comparing the two characters, a lithograph of the two parallel lines accompanies this paper. The first has the Sanskrit *anuswāra* where in the more modern character a final *m* occupies its place, made final by writing the final consonant of the next word, *k*, under it. In one instance, the line which removes the inherent vowel at the end of a word is written under the consonant, as in Sanskrit; and the same mark is now used in Talaing, only written over the letter. While in both inscriptions the *anuswāra* is joined by a line to the letter over which it is placed.

These investigations lead to the conclusion, that, while Siam and Cambodia received their religion and literature from Ceylon, the whole western coast of Farther India was civilized by people direct from Hindustan, probably from the ancient kingdom of Kalinga.†

* See "Inscription on the iron pillar at Delhi," in *Journ. of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, for July, 1838; and "Inscription on the Kuhaon pillar," *ibidem*, for January, 1838.

† *Kappal* means *ship* in Tamil; *kabung*, in Talaing; but both are probably derived from the Malay *kapal*.

COMPARISON OF INSCRIPTIONS.

Tokoon

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Keddah

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ARTICLE VIII.

ON

THE KARENS

BY

REV. E. B. CROSS,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION IN BURMA.

(Read May 19, 1853.)

ON THE KARENS.

THE Karens, though but recently discovered as a people, are perhaps a more remarkable and interesting race than any other, of equal numbers, and in a similar stage of civilization, now known to Europeans. They are found scattered among other tribes of people over a territory extending from 28° to 10° N. Latitude and from 99° to 93° E. Longitude. They compose perhaps three or four distinct tribes, approaching each other in their ethnological peculiarities sufficiently near to render it proper to class them as of the same race; yet but two tribes have become much known to Europeans. The Kakhyens, inhabiting the immense territory to the North of Ava, of whom little is known, and the Karen-nees or Red Karens, so called not from their complexion, but from the predominance of red in their dress, are unquestionably of the same race. The character of the two tribes which are most known, with something of their traditions and history, has become familiar to the missionaries who have been laboring among them, with marked success, for the last twenty years. These tribes were first discovered by Europeans, so as to be much known, in 1824-7; and such has been their history since that period, in respect to Christianity, as to render a statement of their peculiarities as a people a matter of much interest, not only to the man of science but also to the philanthropist. The whole of Farther India, from Assam, or the Burramputra, to the borders of China, and from Thibet to the Straits of Malacca, is inhabited by a branch of the great Mongolian family, all the different tribes of which have many striking features in common; and this remark will apply not simply to their physical structure, but also to their mental peculiarities; and with much force also to their religions, their mythologies and their various forms of superstition. The prevailing religion is Boodhism; and hence much of their mythology and

superstition has taken the form which that system of religion tends to induce. Yet there is an influence, or a sub-structure, which seems to underlie this system, and though directly opposed to Boodhism, has never been demolished or materially weakened among the masses of the people. This sub-structure of sentiment or belief among the masses of Farther India has been adhered to by the Karens more closely than by any other race. The Peguans or Talaings, Bikethras, Tongthoos, and the Shans or the different races in the empire of Siam, have more fully embraced the manifestly later system of Boodhism, and are idolaters deriving their superstitious ideas from thence. This is also the case with one of the two Karen tribes whose peculiarities we know. But the other tribe--and it is the tribe which has yielded with far greater promptitude to the faith of Christianity--with which this sketch will be principally concerned, has retained the ancient religion with far greater distinctness and purity. Hence, though many of their traditions have a common origin with those of the races among whom they are scattered; and their myths are often evidently those common to many or all of the races of this part of India; yet there are many peculiarities belonging to this tribe, which both indicate their priority of existence, and afford in many other respects interesting subjects of investigation.

The two tribes of Karens whose circumstances are most known, are designated, in the dialect of the principal one, as Sgau and Pggho Karens. But the word *Karen* is of Burman origin, and is rarely or never used by the people themselves: *Pgah-kenyau*, which means *man* in their own language, being the only name by which they call themselves. The latter of these tribes, the Pggho Karens, are evidently a much less primitive race than the Sgau. Though their dialect is very similar, and partakes much more of the Karen than of the language of any other tribe, yet this tribe is called by the Burmans the Talaing Karen, which would indicate a mixture of Talaing and Karen blood. In physical structure, many of this tribe differ more widely from the other than do any of the other tribes which are reckoned as wholly distinct; yet upon the whole they resemble the general type of the Karen more nearly than they do any other. The Pggho or Talaing Karens are much the most vigorous and robust

tribe—with a full chest and remarkably large limbs and arms. The females are generally short but very stout, with the face large and square, cheek-bones not particularly prominent, the lips thick, and the nose large and tending to flatness at the opening of the nostrils. This tribe has a considerably darker complexion than the Sgau or pure Karens.

It would not be an easy matter to give the exact type of the Karen race. In many respects it would be difficult to distinguish them from the general Farther Indian type, which may be regarded, in relation to the rest of the human family, as a distinct type, by itself, differing in many important particulars from any other. If individuals of all the different tribes now occupying that immense territory were brought together and divested of their conventional peculiarities of dress, it would be impossible, for the most part, to distinguish them by races. They would blend together in too many particulars of complexion, contour of face, general height of stature and form, to render possible any natural classification which would approach to their present distribution. It is therefore probable that as a family of tribes they had a common origin. Yet the Sgau, or, as we choose to designate them, the pure Karens, would differ more widely from the general type than would any other individual tribe. They are generally small in stature, and give striking indications of deterioration as a race. A general languor marks their movements. This is the case particularly with the females. Their complexion in general is lighter than that of any of the other tribes among whom they are scattered; and in this respect they approach much nearer the Chinese than any of their neighbors. This circumstance may give weight to a tradition which will hereafter be alluded to, indicating their northern origin, or an origin nearer that of the original Chin or Sin race. With these slight differences, they fall into the Farther Indian type, which differs considerably from the Chinese and the Tartar. They fall in half way between the Chinese and the Peguan or Talaing.

I. *Origin of the Karens.* *

The question of the origin of the Karens will perhaps never be satisfactorily answered. The Rev. F. Mason remarks, in a work entitled *Tenasserim*: "When I first came

to this coast [more than twenty years ago] the Karens were regarded as the aborigines of the country; but they were probably in reality the last people to enter it, among the various tribes that the British found here when they took possession of the Provinces. They regard themselves as wanderers from the North; and one of their traditions states that a party of them came across 'the river of running sand,' on an exploring tour, before the Shans were established at Zimmay,* and returned again. The crossing of this river of running sand is regarded as having been an arduous work. They understand by these waters, or river of running sand (the words admit of either rendering), an immense quicksand, with the sands in motion like the waters of a river. The tradition was quite unintelligible to me until the journal of Fa Hian, the Chinese pilgrim who visited India about the fifth century, threw a sunbeam upon this expression. He constantly designates the great desert North of Burmah and between China and Thibet, as the 'river of sand;' and in the Chinese map of India a branch of this desert is seen to stretch down South for several degrees of latitude, and then turn and run westward for a long distance. 'This desert is marked 'quicksands.' There can, therefore, scarcely be a rational doubt but that this is 'the river of running sand' which their ancestors crossed at a remote period before Zimmay was founded."

Since the above opinion was expressed, a new circumstance in respect to the locality of the Karens has come to light, which may have a bearing upon the question of the more original territory occupied by them. A wanderer from Yunnan, the district above Laos and reaching to Thibet, and so far North that he had seen snow and frost, for which the Karens in the Provinces have no word which they retain, arrived in Tavoy some four years ago. He has since been in the schools, and has learned to read, and manifests an energy of character uncommon to any Karens in the more southern districts. His route led him through parts of Laos, Burmah and Siam. His accounts of the Karens in his native country are peculiarly interesting and important, and are reliable as the simple statements of an unsophisticated man. He has not only revealed some new words

* The name of a province and city in the interior of Siam.

in the language, or words which from disuse had been wholly forgotten, but has explained the meaning of others which, though in existence in unwritten speech, were no longer in common use. An example of the former is *nahwah* for *snow*; and of the second, *thai* for *plough*. The former had been wholly forgotten, and the latter, though still retained in memory, is not used by the Karens any where within the Provinces, as they have no implement corresponding to it. The implement used by the Karens and Burmans of the Provinces and the Burman Empire, so far as known, is called by the Karens a *krah*, and is a species of harrow. The word indicating its use, is *quah-krah*, to scratch or harrow up with the *krah*. But the *thai* of the northern Karens is made of iron, unlike the *krah* of the South which is made wholly of wood. The *thai* well resembles a small forged garden-plough, common in this country twenty years ago. Another point of difference is that the *thai* is made by the northern Karens themselves, indicating a far greater degree of civilization than exists among the southern Karens.

The Karens of that country are principally independent; but, occupying a territory adjacent to the Burman Empire, they have been often attacked and many of them destroyed by their more powerful neighbors. They cultivate the soil, and seem to have carried the arts and habits of civilization to a much greater extent than their brethren of the South. They do not reckon themselves by villages or cities, or by tribes, but by families; and their social usages are strictly patriarchal in their nature. A family to the extent of three or four hundred occupy a single house, in much the same way as among the Dyaks, the ancient inhabitants of Borneo. The house, or patriarchal habitation, is an immense structure, but appears to be built of the same slight materials generally used by the southern Karens, and by the inhabitants of Farther India generally. It is made by sinking posts of large size firmly in the ground, and inserting beams or joists through the posts, seven or eight feet from the ground; and upon these laying the floor with slits of the bamboo; and then weaving mats of the same slight material for the sides of the house, and thatching the roof with the palm-leaf. The house is then partitioned by bamboo-matting into courts and halls, eating and sleeping rooms. A discipline and regularity seems to be established in these habitations, which

both secures internal harmony and respect and character for authority and power abroad. This territory, comprising a part of northern Burmah and Yunnan, might suggest itself as the original seat of the Karen race; from which companies have at different times wandered to the South, many perhaps long before the company spoken of in the tradition alluded to above.

We are not fully prepared, however, to admit that the Karens are not the aborigines of Burmah, notwithstanding the above tradition. Even though the hypothesis of their original rallying point, or origin as a nation, after the general dispersion of the human family, of which they have a supposed tradition, was the region South of Tibet and West of China, still there is room to question whether they did not gain a footing farther southward, so as to be prior to the Burmans in those regions.

The reasons which may be given in favor of the idea that the Karens are the aborigines of at least much of Burmah, are as follows. First, it is the opinion of the Burmans of the south-eastern Provinces, that they are so. The word *Karen* in the Burman is *Kayen* or *Ayen*, with the *y*-sound like *r*, which is the more general in colloquial use. This word means *first* or *aboriginal*. In the second place, they bear the character of aborigines in their relationship to the dominant races. They are much more simple and primitive in their manners, and in their ideas of a future state; and submit to their political masters with great reluctance, never mingling and never having been brought to amalgamate with them. Again, the Karens call themselves by a name which means *man*, without any limiting epithet.

Again, one of their ancient traditions distinctly fixes their location on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, or on the eastern side of a body of water which they call *Kaw* or *Kho*. The present inhabitants have lost the meaning of these words, and the so-called body of water has become a mystery to them, so ancient is the tradition which refers to it. Yet the tradition, when examined, carries with it its own explanation. "*Kaw*, according to our ancestors, is a river or body of water to the West. They represent the *buceros*, or horn-bills, as migrating across it in seven days. As soon as the rainy season begins, the horn-bills migrate to the other side of the *Kaw*, to the country where it is dry season,

which is a seven-days journey. They there lay their eggs, and raise their young. Again, when the dry season returns here, it is wet season on the opposite side; and the horn-bills return across the Kaw to this side, and after a journey of seven days arrive again in this country." Again: "*Kho-lo* or *Kaw-lo*, the river Kho or Kaw, is a compound. Of the meaning of this expression, or to what river or body of water it refers, we are now ignorant. It is preserved in tradition, that it is an immense body of water, the largest in the world, lying to the West; and that it runs back towards its source." This tradition and one or two others which refer to the same body or bodies of water, plainly indicate the Bay of Bengal. The difficulty seems to be in applying the word *lo*, which is now used for a *stream*, to a body of water so large as the Bay of Bengal. But it sometimes refers to the ocean, and need not be wholly restricted to a river. It is a fact, that the rainy and dry seasons exactly conform to the tradition. The wet season begins on the western side when it ends on the eastern, and *vice versa*; and perhaps the habits of the horn-bills also conform, for I do not remember to have seen them on the eastern coast, during the rainy season, though they are seen in great numbers in the dry season. From this tradition we infer that, from a period very remote, the Karens have occupied the country which they now occupy on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. A marked circumstance which fixes the Bay of Bengal as the Kaw of antiquity, is that it reverts or runs towards what is naturally taken to be its source. A strong current sets to the North from Achen-head, or the upper end of the island of Sumatra, and passes the Nicobar islands. This would be taken by the inhabitants of the eastern shore of the Bay, as a running back to its source, since all the rivers of the Burman Empire run directly to the South, and opposite to this current which is mid-way of the Bay. This body of water is said, in tradition, to be the largest in the world, showing that at some remote period the Karens had either crossed it, or had been familiar with those who had; as is also indicated in the tradition of the migration of birds, and the peculiarities of alternate wet and dry seasons. No other body of water can answer to this description; and it is evident that no larger body of water had ever been seen by them, within the reach of their tradition. We may con-

clude, therefore, that the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal has been their habitation from time immemorial; and perhaps before the Talaing, the Burman, or the Siamese Empire was in existence. But that they did not first form as a nation, or race, far to the North of the Provinces of south-eastern Burmah, we would not pretend to affirm. It is highly probable, that when the territories of Yunnan and Laos and northern Burmah come to be explored, very many of this interesting race will be discovered, and many more of their traditions brought to light.

A tradition preserved by the Moans or Talaings, who are manifestly a more ancient people in Farther India than the Burmans, shows that the Karens were already in possession of the country to the East of the Bay of Bengal, when they themselves first made their appearance in their southern progress, as far as the promontory of Martaban. "It is also incidentally mentioned," says Mr. Mason in his *Tenasserim*, "that at the period of this visit [a visit of Gaudama to the Talaing kingdom], Tavoy and Mergui were inhabited only by Nats and Beloos. From this concentration of testimony, derived from various sources, it would appear that, several centuries before the Christian era, there existed at Thatung a people [the Talaings] who were then deemed civilized, while they were surrounded by tribes regarded as barbarous, for *beloo* is a term nearly equivalent to *wild man*." That the Beloos were Karens, may be inferred from the fact that the island South of Martaban, and perhaps the spot referred to by the tradition, was called *Beloo*, and when first discovered by Europeans was found to be almost exclusively inhabited by Karens. And the fact that the Beloos extended as far South as Tavoy and Mergui, at the earliest knowledge of the most ancient of the Burman family, clearly points out the great priority of the Karens, even in these countries along the shore of the Bay.

In reference to the distribution of the Karens, the Rev. Mr. Kincaid remarks: "The result of all my inquiries is, that *Kakhyen* is only another name for Karen. All these mountain-tribes,* through the whole extent of the Shan country, and still North into Thibet, are called Kakhyens, except in the Hukong valley, between Mogoung and Assam

* The appellation "mountain-tribes" indicates simply the distinctive and aboriginal habits of the people, not that they are always dwellers on mountains.

[on the western border of northern Burmah], where they are called *Thingbau-Kakhyens*. The whole mountain-country between Mogoung and Cathay is inhabited by the same people. Around the Martaban gulf, and thence inland as far as the Burman population has ever extended, the mountain-tribes are called Karens. Between Rangoon and Toungoo, and between Toungoo and Ava, they are very numerous; as also between Toungoo and Monay, a Shan city about two hundred and fifty miles East of Ava. There are some tribes scattered along between Burnah and the Shan States, called *Karen-nee*, Red Karens, and these extend as far East as Zim-may. These are less civilized than those who live in the vicinity of Burman towns. Some have erroneously considered them as belonging to the Shan family. Their language and every thing else pertaining to them is Karen. In addition to this, the south-eastern part of Thibet is inhabited by Kakhyens; at least I have reason to believe so, as the Shans who live in the most northern part of Burmah and adjoining Thibet, call the country 'the Kakhyen country.' It will be seen, then, that these mountain-tribes are scattered over a vast extent of country, and their population I make to be about five millions." Other distinctive reasons have been given for connecting the Karens with the Chinese, and the Thibetians, of more or less importance and weight. Among these are affinities of language, in words, and the manner of reckoning time among the Karens and Thibetians. That they may have followed the Burramputra in its course North of the Himalaya mountains, from the vicinity of Central Asia, at a very early period of the world's history, is not improbable. They may have been the first to come from that centre of the most populous of the great branches of the human family; and been followed by successive waves along the same channel, until the whole Chinese domain was peopled, as well as that of Farther India. The western boundary of the Burman Empire, West of the Irrawaddy, is the line between two distinct races, as it is the line between the two Indias, the inhabitants of Hither India being of a wholly different type from those of Farther India. But passing North and East from Farther India, the same type grows sharper in its peculiarities and outlines, until it assumes in the Chinese Tartar the sharp angles of the Mongolian development.

II. *Karen Traditions.*

The next point of interest in reference to the Karen race, is their early traditions; and so striking is the resemblance of some of these to the language of Scripture that the early missionaries advocated the idea that the Karens belong to the Jewish race. The Rev. Mr. Mason drew an extended parallelism between their language and the Hebrew, and attempted to prove that they might belong to the Ten Lost Tribes. But this idea has, I think, been wholly abandoned.

The Karen traditions concerning God attribute supreme government to him. He is called *Ywah*, which approaches the word Jehovah, or יהוה, as nearly as possible in the Karen idiom. He is not subject to sickness, nor to death, and is the creator of the universe, that is, of all that is visible to man. The name Jehovah was regarded as too sacred for utterance, and perhaps this became a reason for forgetting, to a great extent, in later generations, the character of the being himself. The traditions concerning God and the creation run as follows.

"God is immutable, eternal. He was from the beginning of the world." "He is everlasting, and existed at the beginning of the world." "He existed in the beginning of time. The life of God is endless. Generations cannot measure his existence." "God is complete and good, and through endless generations will never die." Again: "God is omnipotent, but we have not believed him. God created man anciently. He has a perfect knowledge of all things to the present time." "The earth is the footstool of God, and heaven his seat. He sees all things, and we are not hid from his sight. He is not far from us, but in our midst"—showing that God was believed to be a spirit. More particular allusion to the specific work of the creation, and an almost exact resemblance to the Scripture history of it, is found in other traditions. "He created man, and of what did he form him? He created man at first from the earth, and finished the work of creation. He created woman, and of what did he form her? He took a rib from the man and created the woman." Again: "He created spirit or life. How did he create spirit? Father God said: 'I love these my son and daughter. I will bestow my life upon them.' He took a particle of his life, and breathed it into their

nostrils, and they came to life and were men." "Thus God created man. God made food and drink, rice, fire and water, cattle, elephants and birds."*

In order to the appreciation of a tradition still more striking than the one in reference to the creation, it is necessary to allude to the belief of the Karens relative to the evil being by whom the man and woman first created were induced to transgress the commands of God. This evil being is variously designated in the Karen traditions, according to his influence on men, and his relation to the other state of existence. His impersonation is sometimes male, and sometimes female. He is called Nauk'plau, in allusion to his having tempted men to forsake God and then abandoned them to destruction, as the hen drives from her her weaned chicklings.

"Nauk'plau at the beginning was just,
But afterwards transgressed the word of God.
Nauk'plau at the first was divine,
But afterwards broke the word of God.
God drove him out and lashed him from his place:
He tempted the holy daughter of God.
God lashed him with whips from his presence;
He deceived God's son and daughter."

The being thus described was the agent in the temptation and destruction of man, and the following is the tradition in reference to that event, which we translate as literally as possible. "Pa Ywah, our father God, spoke and said: 'My son and my daughter, I shall make for you a garden, and in the garden will be seven different kinds of trees, bearing seven different kinds of fruit. But among the seven different kinds of fruit there will be one which it is not good for you to eat. Do not eat of it. If you eat of it, sickness, old age and death will come upon you. Eat not of it. Consider, every thing which I have created, all, I give to you. Select to eat and drink whatever you desire. Once in seven days I shall come to visit you. Harken to all I command you, and take heed to what I say. Do not forget me. Worship me each morning and evening as they return.'

"After this, Mūkaulee [the devil under another name, but the name principally in use to designate that being]

* Mr. Mason's translations.

came and asked them: 'Why are you here?' 'Our father God placed us here.' 'What do you here find to eat?' asked the devil. To that they replied: 'Our father God has created for us food and drink, and our food is more abundant than we can eat.' The devil said to them: 'Permit me to see your food,' and the husband and wife both conducted him away to show it to him. The devil followed them to the garden, and they showed him the fruit and said: 'This is sweet, this is sour, this bitter, this astringent, this delicious, this pungent, this savory. But this tree we do not know. Whether it is sour or sweet, we know not. Our father God commanded us, in reference to this tree: "You shall not eat of it. If you eat of it," said he to us, "you shall surely die;" and we have not eaten of it; and whether it is sour or sweet, we know not.' Then the devil said: 'Not so, my children. Your father God has no regard for you. The tree of which the fruit is most delicious and the sweetest, more delicious and sweeter than any other—he commands you not to eat of it. Not only is the fruit of this tree delicious and sweet, but if you eat the fruit you will become divine, and will ascend to heaven, or enter the lower parts of the earth, at pleasure; and will be able to fly. Your God has no love for you, and does not wish to make your lot agreeable. I am not like your God. Your God is unjust and envious. But I am just and not envious. I love you, and tell you all things [do not leave any thing unknown to you]. Your father God does not love you, and does not tell you all things. If you do not believe me, do not take the fruit. But if you will each of you take of it and eat, you will know.' The man replied: 'Our father God commanded us not to eat the fruit of this tree, and we will not eat it.' So saying, he arose and left the place. The woman, on the contrary, listened to the words of the devil, and was slightly pleased with what he said. Upon this the devil renewed his attempts, and at length she yielded to his varied solicitations, and raised her eyes upon him and said: 'Do you say that, if we eat, we shall be able to fly?' The devil replied: 'My son and my daughter, it is purely from my great love for you that I have spoken to you.' Then the woman took of the fruit, bit and ate. Upon which the devil laughed and said: 'My daughter, you have well and readily listened thus far to my words, but I will again speak.

Go to your husband, and give him of the fruit to eat; and say thus to him: "I have eaten the fruit, and it is exceedingly delicious." Thus say to him, and, if he refuses to eat, you must entice till he eats. You have already eaten, and if you die you will die alone. If you become divine, you will become so alone. As the devil said to her the woman did, and enticed her husband as he directed her. She repeated her enticements until finally he yielded to her, and took the fruit from the hand of his wife and ate it. When this was done, and her husband had eaten the fruit, she went and told the devil, and said to him: 'My husband has eaten the fruit.' Whereupon the devil laughed excessively, and said: 'Now, my son and my daughter, you have well done in listening to me.'

"But again, on the morrow after the day in which they had eaten the fruit, Ywah [Jehovah] came to visit them. But they no longer followed God, and met his coming with their songs and their hymns of joy. God came to them, and asked of them: 'The tree of which I said ye should not eat, have ye eaten of it? I commanded you. Why have you eaten of it?' But they were afraid to return any answer to God; and he cursed them and said: 'That which I commanded you, you have not heeded nor obeyed. The fruit of which I said: "It is not good to eat, eat it not," ye have eaten. You have disobeyed, and have eaten it. And now, old age, sickness and death shall come upon you. But it shall be in this way. Some of you shall sicken and recover, and some shall die. There shall be those among you who shall die after the life of a single day. There shall be those who shall live two days and die, three days and die. There shall be those among you who shall die in their youth—virgins and young men shall die. Women shall die when but half their births are finished, and others shall die when their bearing is passed. There shall be some among you who shall die when their locks are white, and others shall die when old age has come upon them.' Thus God commanded and cursed them, and God ascended up from them."

The following couplets are also explicit, and preserve the additional fact that the tempter appeared in the form of a serpent or dragon.

"Ywah in the beginning commanded,
But Nauk'plau came to destroy.

Ywah at the first commanded,
 Nauk'plau maliciously deceived unto death.
 The woman E-u and the man Thay-nai—
 The malicious fiend enviously looked upon them.
 Both the woman E-u and the man Thay-nai
 The dragon regarded with hatred.
 The great dragon deceived the woman E-u,
 And what was it that he said to her?
 The great dragon deceived them unto death,
 And what was it that he did?
 The great dragon took the yellow fruit of the tree,
 And gave it to Ywah's holy daughter.
 The great dragon took the white fruit of the tree,
 And gave it to Ywah's son and daughter to eat.
 They kept not every word of Ywah,
 Nauk'plau deceived them. They died.
 They kept not each one the word of Ywah,
 Then he deceived and beguiled them unto death.
 They transgressed the words of Ywah,
 Ywah turned his back and forsook them.
 After they had broken the commands of Ywah,
 Ywah turned his back upon them and left them."

Other traditions of a like nature refer to the curse upon man as increasing his toil and compelling him "to eat his food by the sweat of his brow;" and to the poisonous fruit by which, through the temptation of Satan, sickness and death came upon the human family.

But, singular as it may seem, the traces of Scripture history in the Karen traditions of later events, so far as has been discovered, are exceedingly feeble and obscure. The deluge seems to be shadowed forth in one or two, as does also the dispersion of the human family. A tradition as translated by Mr. Mason, runs thus: "Anciently, when the earth was deluged with water, two brothers, finding themselves in difficulty, got on a raft. The waters rose and rose till they reached to heaven; when, seeing a mango tree hanging down, the younger brother climbed upon it and ate, but the waters suddenly falling left him in the tree. . . ." In reference to the dispersion of man over the earth, Mr. Mason adduces the following tradition: "Men had at first one father and mother, but, because they did not love each other, they separated. After their separation they did not know each other, and their language became different, and they became enemies to each other and fought."

"The Karens were the elder brother ;
 They obtained all the words of God.
 They did not believe all the words of God,
 And became enemies to each other.
 Because they disbelieved God,
 Their language divided.
 God gave them commands,
 But they did not believe him,
 And divisions ensued."

Another tradition, after representing all as scattered away from the presence of Ywah, speaks of the younger brother, or "the *white westerner*," as begging the Karen, or elder brother, to return to the place where they left God, who, for the sake of proving their faith, had plunged into the sea, and by the stench produced in the waters had frightened away the inhabitants of the earth. The elder brother refuses to return, but the younger brother returns and finds God, who receives him, and warns him not to remain in the country of the elder brother, lest he should misuse him ; and thus God conveys the white race by themselves to a country in the West. Here seems to be a confused blending together of the tradition of the flood [the remembrance of its effects, in the decomposition of so much animal matter] which was the act of God, and the division of the human family which took place after the flood.

III. *Karen Prophets.*

Individuals have arisen among the Karens, from time immemorial, who are styled *wees*, or prophets. They gain great influence over the minds of the people, and are supposed to be capable of foretelling future events ; and, singular as it may seem, many of their prophecies have been strikingly fulfilled. These prophets are supposed, and suppose themselves, capable of working themselves into a "superior state," in which they are capable of seeing what is invisible to other men. They can see the departed "life" or spirit (the sentient soul) of the dead, and even have the power of recalling this spirit, and bringing it back to its body, and thus restoring the dead to life. When a prophet is approached by an inquirer after future events, or any thing which is hidden from other men, the prophet's first object is to throw himself into a state of clairvoyance. He

writhes his body and limbs, rolls himself on the ground, and often foams at the mouth in the violence of his paroxysms. When he is satisfied with his condition, he becomes calm, and makes his prophetic announcement. Many of the prophecies preserved by the people are those which refer to their deliverance from the hard and oppressive usage which they received from their more powerful neighbors, the Burmans and Shans, by whom they were preyed upon with a most destructive rapacity from a period farther back than can be reached by the memory of any of the present generation. An ancient prophet is represented as saying of the expected deliverance: "If it comes by water, rejoice, for you will be able to take breath. But if by land, you will not find a spot to dwell in." Again: "When the Karens have cleared the horn-bill city [an ancient city near Tavoy, which the Karens were required to clear] three times, happiness will arrive." And in explaining this they say: "So, when the the Burman rulers made them clear it for the last time, they said among themselves: 'Now we may suppose happiness is coming, for this is the third time of clearing the horn-bill city;' and, true enough, before they had finished, we heard that the white foreigners had taken Rangoon."* Again: "When the Karens and white foreigners shall fight, then happiness will arrive." This is explained by the fact that the Karens were required by their Burman rulers to meet and fight with the English, and that great happiness and prosperity have followed them since that event. Their prophets taught "that the white foreigners were in the possession of all the words of God, and that they would one day come and restore to the Karens the true knowledge of God, which they professed themselves to have lost, and would *restore their books containing the word of God.*

The *wees*, or prophets, are held in great dread by the people, on account of their supposed power over the spirits of men. A myth represents a mother who had by ill-treating her daughters caused their death, but repents of her cruelty, and calls for the *wee* to aid her in her distress. The *wee* finds the spirit of the younger daughter, who entreats the spirit of the elder to return on account of the sorrow of

* Mr. Mason, from a native document.

their mother. The elder, after some objections on account of the ill-usage they had formerly experienced, and the probability of its repetition, at last yields, and they go back to their former bodies, which are restored to life, and the daughters are presented to their mother. But the ill nature of the mother again prevails, and the same abuse is repeated, and the same results ensue. Again the *wee* is sought for, when the shade of the elder daughter proves inexorable, and she winds herself deeper into the earth. The younger alone returns, and is received by the mother, and again shrinks from her cruelty to the world of shades. Whereupon the *wee* can no longer be induced by the wicked mother to interfere with the shades of her departed daughters.

When the *wee* is employed to call back a departed shade or life, his pursuit in the regions of the dead is sometimes unsuccessful. But, bent upon his benevolent purpose for his particular employer, he sees and lays hold of the shade of some person still in life, and by diverting it to the dead person, restores him to life. As a consequence, however, the living person, whose truant spirit, in a wandering dream, or in the hour of sleep, had ventured too far from its home, is seized, sickens, and dies. But the game of the *wee* does not stop here. If the last dead person has friends to invite the services of the *wee*, he, well aware of the direction which the shade of the unfortunate person has taken to enter and resuscitate the body of a neighbor, looks around again for a shade wandering forth in a dream, seizes it, and conducts it to the newly departed; and in this way becomes the occasion of great trouble by a succession of deaths. Hence the warning to avoid soliciting the services of the *wee* in such cases.

The *wees* are the authors of most of the poetry, or didactic couplets, and ballads, which have been found among the Karens. They are for the most part feeble, nervous, excitable men, such as would easily become somnambulists, or subjects of clairvoyance.

There is another class of prophets of a different character, rarely making pretensions to the prediction of future events, who are called *bookhos*, or masters of feasts, and might be called the priests of religion. They have methods of determining the future in cases of sickness, take the direction of the general religious ceremonies of the people, and

teach the doctrines of the system which they adopt in worship, the charms, etc. They are not so much dreaded by the people as the *wees*, and are generally more respected. They are the heads of communities, but distinct from the hereditary chiefs, though they sometimes combine in themselves the character and functions of both.

IV. *Religion of the Karens.*

At the time when Christianity was first introduced among the Karens, no distinct traces of the worship of *Ywah* were found. Though the name was retained as the name of God supreme and unchangeable, yet the obligation to worship was no longer felt. A long and distinct tradition is found, in which men, after the fall, are represented as led from step to step into the practice of the ceremonies, charms and necromancies which were adroitly made known to them by the devil. After the fall, and the separation of men from God, they in the first place apply to Satan for his aid, as they expect no more from God, to avert the sentence of death and its effects. This aid he renders by introducing charms against sickness and death; and hence grows up a species of demon-worship, which is the prevailing worship now found among the heathen Karens. They make no images of the demons, and regard them as spiritual beings, though capable of appearing in any shape they please. There is a general belief in the immortality of the soul, yet this is not universal. Traces are supposed to be found of a resurrection of the dead, but there is, I think, no other conception of it than in the way of credulous superstition, which, among all uncivilized nations, is ready for tales of wonder. The doctrine of transmigration has no authority with them, yet there are many who reject the common superstitions concerning a future state, and suppose that the life "flies off in the air" and is lost, so that death is the termination of existence. But this is not the general sentiment.

V. *Karen Mythology.*

The mythology of the Karens, or their belief concerning spiritual beings, has many interesting features, and though we do not expect to do justice to the whole subject, yet a few particulars may be stated. Aside from the two great principles of good and evil, which in more modern times

they have been less familiar with, they recognize a host of inferior beings which it would be difficult to classify with any accuracy; many of which, however, when reduced to their origin, terminate in the elements of material nature, the objects of science in civilized society. So that we here see, in fact, nothing else than attempts to account for positive and natural phenomena, by the best methods within the reach of untaught and superstitious people.

A large class of spiritual beings, capable of many subdivisions, is included by the Karens under the general name of *kelah*. The primary import of this name is *pure*, unmixed, clear or transparent. This definition gives us a clue to its sense as a mythological term. Every object is supposed to have its *kelah*. Axes and knives, as well as trees and plants, are supposed to have their separate *kelahs*. When the rice-field presents an unpromising appearance, it is supposed that the rice-*kelah* is detained in some way from the rice, on account of which it languishes. If the *kelah* cannot be called back, the crop will fail. The following formula is used in calling back the *kelah*: "O come, rice-*kelah*, come! Come to the field. Come to the rice. With seed of each gender, come. Come from the river Kho, come from the river Kaw; from the place where they meet, come. Come from the West, come from the East. From the throat of the bird, from the maw of the ape, from the throat of the elephant * * *. Come from the sources of rivers and their mouths. Come from the country of the Shan and Burman. From the distant kingdoms come. From all granaries come. O rice-*kelah*, come to the rice." All the inferior animals are supposed to have their *kelahs*, which are also liable to wander from the individual and thus to be interfered with in their absence. When the *kelah* is interfered with by an enemy of any kind, death ensues to the individual animal to which it belongs.

"The human *kelah* is supposed to be capable of leaving the body and wandering at pleasure; and this is particularly the case when the bodily senses are locked in sleep, when if, as often happens, it is detained beyond a certain time, disease ensues; and if it is permanently detained, death is the consequence."* On this account, offerings are made to

* Dr. Wade.

the *kelah* to induce it to return. Rice and various dainties are placed by the wayside, or in the forest, and different formulas are used to call back the *kelah* to partake of the prepared repast, when it is hoped that it will re-enter the body, and that the sick person will be restored to health, or the dead to life.

The *kelah* is not regarded as the responsible agent in human action. The good or bad actions of the individual, in this sense of the *kelah*, are not attributed to its influence. An extract from a native's remarks upon it will show the distinction made between the soul, or responsible agent, and the *kelah*. "When we sin, or commit any offense, it is the *thah*, soul, which sins; and again, when we perform any good action, it is the *thah*. Praise-worthiness, or blame-worthiness, is attributed to the *thah* alone. By some the *kelah* is represented as the inner man, and with others the inner man is the *thah*. When the eyes are shut and in sleep, the reflective organs are awake and active. This is sometimes attributed to the *kelah*. Hence the *kelah* is the author of dreams."

One method of calling back the *kelah* illustrates a curious fact of electricity, manifestly connected with some striking phenomena which now seem to be recognized in this country. The coffin containing the body of the dead person, is placed in the centre of the room, upon the floor. A slender rod of bamboo is inserted through a hole in the lid. An attenuated thread is tied to the upper end of the rod, and small tufts of raw cotton are tied to the thread alternately with pieces of charcoal, extending downwards to the end of the thread, which nearly reaches the floor. A small cup containing a hard boiled egg, is placed under the end of the thread. A brass or silver ring is tied to the lower end of the thread, so that it hangs within a short distance of the egg in the cup. The ring soon begins to draw down toward the egg with considerable force, it is said, and the thread begins to vibrate till it finally breaks asunder. This indicates the presence of the *kelah*. The rod is always of a particular kind of bamboo. Sometimes, this experiment does not succeed, when they imagine that the *kelah* does not return.

The idea in all these cases is, that the *kelah* is not the soul, and yet that it is distinct from the body, and that its

absence from the body is death. The *kelah* is more apt to forsake feeble persons and children. Hence, when corpses are carried by, in removing them from the house, children are tied to a particular part of the house, with a particular kind of string, lest their *kelahs* should leave them, and pass into the corpse which is passing. The children are kept tied in this way until the corpse is carried completely out of sight. The house where the person died is abandoned, lest the *kelah* of some person remaining in it, especially of one of the children, should be induced to accompany the departed, whose *kelah* may thereby the more readily return to a wonted spot, and call for a friend's *kelah*. Of this many cases are believed to have occurred.

The weakness or strength of a person depends upon the faithfulness of another sort of being, which will be described hereafter.

Thus far, the word *kelah* would seem to signify *life* or *existence*, and its primary meaning is retained. Life or existence, in the abstract, is personified. It is considered as independent of the organization of the body, and as entering it to dwell there, and leaving it, at will. As bare existence, it is the individuality, or general idea, of an inanimate object. It is also the individuality of the animated being. It in fact personates the varied phenomena of life.

But the *kelah* is represented in another and still higher class of phenomena.

• The *kelah* is supposed to possess seven separate existences, each of which seeks the destruction of the person to whom they belong. Yet, singular enough, though seven, they are seven in one. The first seeks to render the person insane or mad; the second produces reckless folly; the third produces shamelessness, and seems to be the origin of the libidinous passions; the fourth produces anger and the like passions, which result in cruelty and acts of violence, murders, etc. These *kelahs* are constantly bent upon evil, and striving to bring it upon the person to whom they belong.

But there is another being which is supposed to have its seat somewhere upon the upper part of the human head, which is called *tsō*. While this retains its seat, no harm can befall one from the efforts of the *kelahs*. They cannot induce or inflict any injury upon the person, while the *tsō*

remains in its place. But if the *tsō* becomes heedless or weak, certain evil to the person is the result. Hence, the head is carefully attended to, and all possible pains are taken to provide such dress and attire as will be pleasing to the *tsō*. Going under a house, especially if there are females within, is avoided; as is, also, the passing under trees of which the branches extend downwards in a particular direction, and the but-end of fallen trees, etc.

The literal and ordinary meaning of the word *tsō* is *power*, and it probably has the same sense as applied to a personification. A probable explanation of the *kelah* and the *tsō*, taken together, is the following. The *kelah* signifies that part of human nature which pertains to life—the sentient soul, or the animal spirit—the feelings, and particularly the passions, which in fact are continually tending, in the present condition of our nature, to evil and to destruction. This part of our nature, being observed, is accounted for on the supposition of indwelling personalities, which, though distinct and dissimilar, are nevertheless united into one, constituting one whole class of faculties, or the whole of the sentient soul. High above this, and in its own proper seat, is *reason* or the *tsō*, the true power of the man, which, until dethroned or enfeebled, so orders the whole as to protect it from injury, and so guides as to prevent the approach of ill. But, this system not recognizing any higher faculty than reason, all failures are attributed to its defects, or its absence. •

There is another class of spiritual beings embracing vampires, hobgoblins, spectres and ghosts; under the general name of *theret-thekahs* and *kephoos*.

The *kephoo* is a species of vampire. The same may be said of the *theret*, though this is rather a sort of hobgoblin. Both prey upon the lives or *kelahs* of men.

The *kephoo* is represented as the stomach of a wizzard, which at night, in the repulsive form of a human head and entrails, sallies forth in quest of food. In this form it secretly attacks the lives of men, or devours their *kelahs* and thus produces death.

The *therets* are the spirits or shades of those who have died by violence. They are defined by a Karen to be "the spirits of men who do not deserve a place in *Plupoo* [the infernal regions], of men who have been shot as a punishment,

or who have been killed by tigers or elephants, or who have died by a fall, by the sword, by starvation," etc. These spirits are unable to enter *Plū*, much less are they able to enter the country of the *mūkhahs*, or inhabitants of heaven, who will be spoken of hereafter. They remain on the earth and wander about, but are invisible. They are the occasion of mortal sickness to men, by seizing their *kelahs*. These vampire-like beings are exceedingly dreaded by the people. Offerings are made to them, and the strongest supplications and petitions are offered to avert their anger and their cruel assaults.

The *tah-mus* or *tah-kas* (two names of one and the same signification) are spectres, or the spirits of tyrants and oppressors, of adulterers, and of all those who have been guilty of great wickedness; and the Burmans in particular are included in the category. After they leave the body, they appear in the form of horses, elephants and dogs, crocodiles and serpents, vultures and ducks, and this not in the way of metempsychosis, but as the immediate choice of the spirit, at the time, and simply for apparition. They sometimes appear as colossal men, as tall as the trees; and are seen in the deep solitudes of forests and jungles, apparently seeking their food from the trees.

Ghosts, properly speaking, are *sekhahs*. No offerings are made to them. They are the spirits of infants and of persons who from accident have not been buried or burned, and of old persons whose *tsōs* have forsaken them, so that they have died of weakness.

Another class of spiritual beings consists of the *plupho*, or inhabitants of the infernal regions. They are the spirits of all persons who at death go to their proper places in the regions of the dead—those who do not become *therets*, nor any of the above-mentioned evil beings. They go to their proper country and renew their earthly employments. As the North American Indian, with his dog and bow, seeks food in the beautiful hunting-ground of the world of the departed, so the Karen, with his axe and cleaver, may build his house, cut his rice, and conduct his affairs, after death, as before.

The location of *Plū* is not determined. Some suppose it to be beneath the earth; others, that it is above; and others, that it is just beyond our horizon, and separated from our

vision only by the white haze which seems to limit our sight. Those who suppose that this country is beneath us, reveal in their tradition, wittingly or unwittingly, the fact that the sun enlightens the opposite side of the earth; for, when it is morning to us, it is evening to the inhabitants of *Plū*.

The king of this country is called *Cootay* or *Theedō*. He has dominion over all the classes of spiritual beings before-mentioned. Those confined to the earth are his servants and soldiers there, doing his bidding. It is a peculiarity worthy of notice, that he is not the king of hell, but simply of the region of the dead. A literal translation of a native's description of his office will be valued. "*Cootay*, or *Theedō*, holds his dominion in the country of *Plū*. When he comes to call our *kelahs*, our bodies die, and we become the inhabitants of *Plū*, and enter the dominions of *Cootay*. When he has called men, and they are under his dominion, if they by their endeavors please him, or are good, they are in due time dismissed to the region above, or heaven. But, on the contrary, if they are wicked, such as strike their fathers and mothers, they are delivered into the hands of the king of hell, and punished by being cast into hell."

Hell is called *Lerōh*, and includes two grades of punishment, the common hell and the great or severe hell.

There is still another class of spiritual beings, called *tahnahs* or *nahs*. These are the *nats* of the Burmans.* They are invisible to human sight, and yet they prey upon men in a way similar to that of the *therets*. They are of two sorts, and have the power of taking any form they please, as that of snakes, toads, reptiles, tigers, swine, dogs, etc.

Their origin is explained as follows: "The Lord of men created them in consequence of a disobedience on the part of men to one of his commands, as a punishment for their offense." The two sorts are those originally created, and those which have originated from wizzards in this life. These last are regarded as the worst sort, and it is certain death when they seize upon a person. This class of beings are properly fiends. Their head, or king, is *Mūkaulee*, the great tempter in the primitive garden of mankind, the devil.

* Probably borrowed from the Karens, or derived from a common source.

Another class of spiritual beings are called *mūkhahs*. They are the parents and ancestors of the Karens, who have died and ascended to the upper regions, where they have a country and cities under the dominion of their king. They are divine, and are the creators of the present generations of men. If persons are made by the king of the *mūkhahs*, they are turned off in too hasty a manner, and are maimed, lame, ill-formed and imperfect. The reason of this is that the king of the *mūkhahs* has too much on his hands, and is interrupted in his work. But when the *mūkhahs* themselves perform the work, it is done at leisure and with care. These beings preside over the births and marriages of men. It is believed that they mingle together the blood of the two persons to be united in marriage, thus making them one. If this mingling of blood does not first take place, no proper marriage can be consummated.

There are other spiritual beings supposed to exist, such as those which create the winds with their fans, called *ke-leepho*; those which cause the eclipse of the sun and moon, called *tuh-yoomū*; and two other classes which preside alternately over the wet and dry season, and produce the lightning and thunder, called *codā* and *laupho*. Of the last named, one class presides over the dry season and becomes weary with continued toil; while the other, having been driven away at its commencement, is at rest. The other, at the close of the dry season, sallies forth with chariots and fiery spears, and with darts and thunders assaults the wearied one, which soon gives up the contest, and retires, to be succeeded, in the government of the season, by the other, fresh from its retirement in the deep solitude of the forest. But the latter regains its power only to be met, at the return of the dry season, by its adversary, and to be itself driven from its seat by fiery darts and thundering chariots.

The *mūkhahs* are objects of worship, and offerings are made to them, though rather to appease them than from any supposed obligation; for, though they are in the main good, they are not wholly devoid of the vampirism of their neighbors, the *tuh-nahs* and the *theret-theekahs*. This vampirism runs through all the classes of mythological beings which have any thing to do with men.

Among the sprites of nature, and one of the most benevolent, is *Pheebee Yau*, or Ceres, who sits in her place upon a lonely stump, the live-long day, to watch the growing corn and the ripening ear. Her object is to fill the granaries of the frugal and industrious with rice; and she is a great favorite among the people.

This somewhat miscellaneous sketch may serve as an outline of Karen mythology. There are, however, many interesting myths and tales which might be made use of to throw farther light upon the system.

ARTICLE IX.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY
OF THE
SGAU AND PWO KAREN DIALECTS.

BY
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(Read October 13, 1852.)

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.

THE words in this vocabulary have been romanized from lists furnished by Rev. Messrs. Abbott and Van Meter, of Arrakan.* An inspection of the accompanying table will show that the Karen belongs to the family of Tatar languages, and that it is very similar to several dialects of the Nagas and other hill-tribes of Asam.

The vowels used in this vocabulary have their usual classical sounds: *ü* is the French *u*, and *ũ* denotes a peculiar sound, somewhat resembling the French *eu*, or *u* in *cur*. The italics *sh* and *th* are sounded as in English; *gh* is guttural; *n* is a nasal, nearly like *ng*.

There are six tones in Karen, which, in the native system of writing, are distinguished by various characters added to the inflected syllables. For want of more appropriate signs, I have here used the marks of punctuation to denote the tones, viz: a hyphen for the monotone, a comma for the falling inflection, the same inverted for the circumflex, a period for the short abrupt termination, and an inverted period for the high abrupt termination; while the natural tone is left without any specific mark.

* In a letter accompanying this paper, Mr. Brown says: "I now enclose for you a vocabulary of the Karen language, which I have had much difficulty in obtaining—all the missionaries having hitherto had an idea that the expression of that language in Roman characters was impossible. Mr. Van Meter, however, has at length assisted me in changing the native character to the Roman, and has furnished me with the Pwo dialect, in addition to the Sgau Karen furnished by Mr. Abbott. I believe this vocabulary will be found to be very correct, as it has been forwarded to Mr. Van Meter, a second time, for revision, since the transferring of it to the Roman character. For the purposes of a comparative vocabulary, I at first thought it would be unnecessary to notice the tones; but Mr. Van Meter informs me that they must be represented by distinguishing marks, in order to exhibit the language with propriety. The marks of punctuation are not, of course, so appropriate as others which might be invented; but they will answer in the room of better."—COMM. OF PUBL.

The word *me*, in Sgau Karen, with the variations of meaning produced by the inflections, will show the importance of properly distinguishing the tones:

1. <i>me</i>	natural tone,	<i>a tooth.</i>
2. <i>me-</i>	monotone,	<i>blackish.</i>
3. <i>me,</i>	falling tone,	<i>a sail.</i>
4. <i>me'</i>	circumflex,	<i>a cutaneous disease.</i>
5. <i>me.</i>	abrupt,	<i>an eye.</i>
6. <i>me'</i>	abrupt and high,	<i>sand.</i>

<i>English.</i>	<i>Sgau Karen.</i>	<i>Pwo Karen.</i>
Sky	mu ka pó ló	mü phó. phán,
Sun	mü.	mü
Moon	lá	lá
Star	tshá'	shá'
Light	tá ka. po	tshü' phán-
Darkness	taki	tshü' khi'
Day	mü tshá	mü tshá
Night	mü ná	mü ná
God	ka tsá yuá	ka tsá yuá-
Religion	alü alá	alu alá
Soul	thá.	thá.
Lightning	lo	lon wai' adi'
Thunder	lo tho'	lon glwen-
Air, wind	ka li	li-
Earth	ho kó	gon khó'
Fire	me' u	mó'
Water	thi	thi,
Cloud	tá, ü'	tshü ün-
Smoke	khü'	me' khu'
Ashes	phá tshá	tshü pé. klá
River	thi kló	thi kló.
Mountain	ka tsü	khó' lon
Road	kle	phün thá.
Gold	thu	thon'
Silver	tsó	tshé-
Iron	thá.	thá.
Stone	lū-	lón
Man	pó khwá	pshá'
Woman	pó mü	pa mü'
Father	pá,	phá,
Mother	mó,	mó

<i>English.</i>	<i>Sgau Karen.</i>	<i>Pwo Karen.</i>
Son	phó khwá	phó' khwá,
Daughter	phó mü	phó' mü'
Brother (elder)	do phü we	thün, wei
" (younger)	phü khwá	thün, phü
Sister (elder)	do phü we	thün, mü' wei
" (younger)	phü' mü'	thün, mü' ph'
Boy	phó khwá	phó' khwá,
Girl	phó mü	phó' mü'
Name	mé	mén-
Horse	ka thó'	thi'
Cow (bos)	go pi ; amó	tshü' mén'
Buffalo	paná,	pa ná
Elephant	ka tsho	ka tshán,
Tiger	bo thá ó	bo'
Monkey	ta au	tshü ú.
Goat	me te le	bhé'
Hog	thó	thó'
Dog	thwi'	thwi'
Cat	tha' mi yo-	mi nyo-
Mouse	yü pó	yó.
Bird	thó'	thó'
Hen	tso mo pgá	tsán, mo pgá-
Crow	tso ghá pgá	
Snake	gü	wgu
Fish	nyá'	yá'
Butterfly	thá' pi no' li	thá' nán' yv.
Fly	thá bü lá	dú lá,
Musquito	pa chó ; ta ghá	tshü' phó'
Ant	tü,	thün,
Head	khó'	khó'
Hair	khó thú	khó' thu'
Eye	me.	me.
Ear	ná	ná
Nose	ná tsá'	ná,
Mouth	thá khó	nó'
Tooth	me	thwá,
Back	.....	klón,
Belly	ü	wgu phün-
Hand	tshü	tshu'
Finger	tshü mü	tshu' nón-
Foot	kho	khán'
Skin	phi'	phi'
Bone	ghi	ghwi
Blood	thwi	tshü thwi

<i>English.</i>	<i>Sgau Karen.</i>	<i>Pwo Karen.</i>
Horn	kū nu	nón-
Tail	me	mé
Egg	dí'	dí'
Wing	dí'	dí'
Feathers	to atshu	tó dí'
Tree	thé'	thén'
Root	gi	wi
Leaf	lá'	lá'
Flower	pho	phó,
Fruit	ta thá'	thá'
Plantain	thakwi	thá' klü' athá'
Rice	bū	wu- tshá'
Salt	i thá	thi, lá'
Milk	nū thi	nu thi'
Oil	thó	thó'
Cloth	yá'	shán,
Knife	do	ghé.
Sword	ná	ná.
Spear	bo	phán-
Bow	khli'	khli'
Arrow	plá	phlá
House	hi	yén
Door	tre aná hó	trán,
Village	tha wo	ta wūn,
Boat	kli	kli,
I	yá-	yá-
Thou	ná-	ná-
He, she, it	awe	awe
We	pawc	pawc
Ye	thūwe	thū we
They	awe thé'	awe thé'
Mine	ya tá,	ya tshü'
Thine	ntá	ntshü'
His	atá	atshü'
Ours	pa tá	pa tshü'
Yours	thu wé thé atá	nthi atshü'
Theirs	awe thé atá	awe thi atshü'
Who?	mtá- tagá- le'	me pá- lagá- lai'
Which?	mnü- tami- le'	me no' lamin- lai
What?	mnü- le'	me no' lai'
This	ai-	a yó-
That	ané'	ano'
Other	agá-	agu, ga-

<i>English.</i>	<i>Sgau Karen.</i>	<i>Pwo Karen.</i>
Anything	tá tami mi	lamin-min-
Such	di a né	be, i' be, ó'
Somebody	mtá tagá	pshá lagá gá
All	kelü	ton a lu.
One	ta, or tū,	ka du-
Two	khi	ni,
Three	thū	thūn,
Four	lwi,	li,
Five	ye,	yei
Six	ghū	ghū,
Seven	nwi	nwi
Eight	ghó	ghó
Nine	khwi	khwi,
Ten	ta tshi	ka tshi,
Eleven	ta tshi tū,	ka tshi, ka du-
Twelve	ta tshi khi	ka tshi, ni,
Thirteen	ta tshi thū	ka tshi, thūn,
Fourteen	ta tshi lwi,	ka tshi, li,
Twenty	khi tshi	ni, tshi,
Thirty	thū tshi	thūn, tshi,
Forty	lwi, tshi	li, tshi,
Fifty	ye, tshi	yai tshi,
Hundred	ta ka yá	ka yá-
Thousand	ta ka thó	ka thon'
East	mü, tho'	mü thán'
West	mü, nü.	mü nü.
North	ka li thi	li-khi,
South	ka li tsó	li-thi
Right	tsü twe	tshü' twé'
Left	tsü tsó	tshü' tsé'
Far	ye	yein-
Near	bu	bu-
High	tho	to,
Low	.....	phü'
Much	á má	á'
Little	ta á bá	ka tshi-
Great	dó	dó'
Small	pó	phó'
Long	to	to,
Short	phü'	phü'
Broad	pá le	lai
Narrow	i	ein'
Round	phlü	phlón-
Straight	ló-ló-	lon-

English.

Crooked
 Old
 New
 Ripe
 Raw
 Sweet
 Sour
 Bitter
 Hot
 Cold
 Good
 Bad
 Handsome
 Ugly
 Fat
 Lean
 Thick
 Thin
 Heavy
 Light
 Hard
 Soft
 Sharp
 Dull
 White
 Black
 Blue
 Green
 Red
 Yellow

To be
 Do
 Live
 Die
 Eat
 Drink
 Sleep
 Wake
 Laugh
 Weep
 Speak
 Hear
 Know

Sgau Karen.

ké'
 lo li
 tho
 mi
 thi ka tshe
 tsũ
 tsi'
 ká'
 kó,
 gó.
 gé
 ta gé bá'
 aghi alá

 bo
 ghe

 bu
 ghũ
 pgi
 kô
 ngu
 é
 ta é bá'
 wá
 thu
 ta lá

 go
 bo

ó'
 má-
 mu
 thi
 o'
 o
 mi
 phũ tho no
 ni
 ho'
 kató
 ná hu
 thényá

Pwo Karen.

ken'
 li-
 thán'
 min-
 thón- tsé.
 tsũn-
 tsein,
 ká'
 khó
 ghon
 gé-
 ũn-
 aghi' alá-
 ũn-
 bon'
 ghwó'
 dũn-
 bũn-
 ghũn-
 ghwi'
 non-
 phu.
 ein'
 li.
 bwá-
 thũn,
 lá,
 yé,
 gho-
 bán

o'
 má-
 mũn
 thi,
 on
 ó-
 mi,
 mi, non' thor
 ni
 gon'
 klein.
 ná gũn,
 tho' yá,

<i>English.</i>	<i>Sgau Karen.</i>	<i>Pwo Karen.</i>
Sing	thá wi	thá· wi'
Dance	ge kali	gei' thün' li.
Stand	thsü thü	tshün, thün'
Sit	tshé no	tshun, non-
Walk	há	gá. phá·
Run	ghé	tsein' ta lein
Fall	lo te	lon-thi. phá
Want	thá· kwi	bá' athá·
Have	ó	ó'
Seek	khlü	on' ghá.
Get	né	on' má-né
Give	hé lo	phé' lon,
Take	há nó	má-né
Bring	he tshó.	gei, tshó.
Carry	te tshó.	tshó.
Lift up	tü to	tshán' thon'
Put down	pá lo	ó' ké' lon
Break	ká	khá
Cut	.....	phi.
Tear	nyá	shán, yá.
Bite	é	ein'
Pull	thü·	thü·
Push	thü·	thü·
Strike	dó	dó'
Kill	má thi	má-thi,
Bury	kulo	bün-lon-
Burn	tshu	khó gó.
Love	é'	éi'
Hate	thá· hé	thá· gein,
Fear	pli	thá· mei'
Be angry	thá· tho'	thá· thon'
Quarrel	thó'	ein' ló. athá·
Steal	hü	on' gu.
Buy	pgé	ghwó-
Sell	tsá	on' tsán,
Work	má	má-
Play	ló	ló. kwé-
I go	tsa le-	ya le-
Thou goest	nle-	nlé-
He goes	a le-	awé dále-
We go	pawe le-	pawé dá lé-
Ye go	thüwe le-	nthi lé-
They go	awe thi le-	awe thi lé-
I went	tsa le-li	ya lé-li

<i>English.</i>	<i>Sgau Karen.</i>	<i>Pwo Karen.</i>
I will go	tša ka le-	ya ka lé-
I go not	tša ta le-bá'	ya la lé-bá'
I wish to go	tá, mó' le-bá' ya thá'	tshü' mó' lé-bá' ya thá'
I can go	tša le-thé'	ya lé-thé'
Go thou	lé- ná-	lé-ná-
Go not	le- ta gé-	lé-la gé-
Come here	he tshu i-	gei, thon yó-
Be silent	ó' bgó'	ó' ka tshü'
Look!	kwá,	yó tshü'
Do you see?	nthi' há	ndá' há
Give me	hé lo yá	phé' lon, yá-
Give him	hé lo o	phé' lon, ü-
Do as I do	má-di' ya má-athó'	má-bo ya má-athó'
Of	a	a
Wing of bird	thó adi'	thó adi'
To	tshu	lũ or thon
From	lũ	lũ
By	.....	lũ
With	dí'	lũ or dí'
In	lũ—pu	lũ—phũn
On	lũ—pho khó'	lũ—alon
Above	lũ—pho khó'	lũ—phán khó'
Below	lũ—pho lá.	lũ—phán lá.
Between	lũ—bũ tsũ	lũ—bur tsũn,
Within	lũ—pu	lũ—phũn
Without	lũ—khó	lũ—akhon,
And	do'	do'
Or	.....	mwoi gé-
Yes	mé,	mwoi é
No	ta mé, bá'	la mwoi bá'
Why?	bá' ma nũ le'	bá' nó' lei'
How?	dí' le'	be, thĩ' lei'
How much?	tshĩ' á le'	tshĩ' á' lei'
Thus	dĩ' i	be, yó-
Here	lũ i-	thon yó-
There	lũ né'	thon no
Where?	ó' lũ le'	ó' kho, lei'
Now	khe kani-i-	bó nán yó-
Then	.....	thon nó ato
When?	le'	tsĩ' yĩ' lei'
To-day	ma tsá-tani-i-	ka ni-yó-
Yesterday	mũ, há tani-	la mũ gá'
To-morrow	khe go-	khó go-khó.

ARTICLE X.

CHINESE LOCAL DIALECTS

REDUCED TO WRITING.

BY

REV. MOSES^d C. WHITE,

MISSIONARY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY AT FUHCHAU.

(Read October 26, 1853.)

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

A N O U T L I N E

OF THE

SYSTEM ADOPTED FOR

ROMANIZING THE DIALECT OF AMOY.

BY

HON. CHARLES W. BRADLEY,

LATE CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES AT AMOY.

CHINESE LOCAL DIALECTS

REDUCED TO WRITING.

THE Chinese written language has long been considered, by western scholars, as the most difficult language in the world. Taking its origin from hieroglyphics, in the remote ages of antiquity, it has been variously modified, until, in its present form, it may for most purposes be considered simply as an ideographic language.

From five to ten thousand characters, many of them of complicated structure, having various significations, and a variety of pronunciations in different connections, must all be familiar to the student, before he can use it with facility as a medium of communicating thought, or acquiring knowledge. Ten years or more are needed for Chinese youths to acquire this amount of knowledge.

The Chinese are called a literary people. The children of the poor often rise to eminence as scholars and statesmen; but it is well known to every one who has spent many years in China, that multitudes can read books with considerable fluency who have little knowledge of the signification of what they read. The idiom of the written language is considerably different from the spoken, and a degree of brevity is allowed which in the spoken language would render it to a great degree unintelligible. The pronunciation of the characters in many dialects is remarkably different from the spoken language used to express the same ideas.

The honor that is always attached to a knowledge of letters, leads multitudes of parents to send their children to school while they are too young to labor, but the pressure of poverty and the cares of an increasing family require that they should be put to some remunerative employment by the time they arrive at ten or twelve years of age. At this age they have learned to pronounce, it may be, three or

four thousand characters, but have learned the meaning of only a few hundreds. The difficulty of the task, and the pressure of poverty, with the hurry of business, prevent multitudes from ever acquiring much additional knowledge of the written language. Hence we find thousands of the poorer classes, who, as has been mentioned, while they can read with considerable fluency, know little or nothing of the meaning of what they read.

Missionaries have often and anxiously inquired by what means the Scriptures could be prepared in a form calculated to benefit this class of the people. It has been suggested that the spoken dialects might be reduced to writing by means of the Roman alphabet, in the same manner as in other countries where no written language is found. This plan has been partially adopted for some of the dialects. At Ningpo, primary books for schools have been prepared with the English alphabet, and some of the Gospels are already in progress, or probably even now completed. Some are very sanguine in this undertaking, and even hope that this alphabetic system may be made so attractive and easy, explained in the ordinary classical character, that, with such explanations in the form of a preface attached to the Gospels, many will, without any other guide, learn the system and read the books with profit. At Amoy, also, successful efforts have been made to romanize the colloquial dialect. The Gospel of John has already been published, and primary books have been prepared for schools in that city. It is believed that six months, or a year, will be sufficient for intelligent youths to learn to read in the Roman character any books that may be prepared for them. They may thus be taught to read and write their own colloquial, and by means of suitable books acquire a much greater amount of knowledge, in a given time, than they could acquire from books written in the ideographic language of the Chinese.

It is feared, however, by some, that the great prejudice which the Chinese entertain against anything of foreign origin, will prevent this system from being adopted by any not instructed in Mission schools.

Another method has been suggested for reducing the spoken dialects to writing, which, though intrinsically of equal difficulty, would probably meet with less prejudice on the part of the people, as it would exhibit less appearance of foreign origin.

For several of the local dialects there are native tonic dictionaries, in which a system of *initials* and *finals*, with the addition of marks to distinguish the tones, answers the purpose of a complete alphabetic system for writing the pronunciation of characters, or even words in the spoken language for which there are no corresponding characters. In the tonic dictionaries referred to, the alphabetic system is only used to exhibit the pronunciation of words or characters; but at Fuhchau teachers have been found, who, with a few suggestions, have readily written out whole books with the initials and finals as a perfect alphabetic system for the local dialect. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and John have in this way been prepared in manuscript, and phrase-books have been written in the same style. A little study enables a person to read these books with the same readiness as any alphabetic language. In the system found at Fuhchau there are the following fifteen initials:

L	P	K	K'	T	P'	T'	Ch
柳	邊	求	氣	低	波	他	曾
Liu	Pieng	Kiu	K'e ³	Tè	P'ò	T'a	Cheng
N	S	'	M	Ng	Ch'	H	
日	時	鶯	蒙	語	出	非	
Nih ⁴	Si ⁵	Eng	Mung ⁵	Ngü ²	Ch'oh ⁴	Hi	

and thirty-three finals:

ung	ua	iong	iu	ang	ai	a	ing	uang	ò	ü
春	花	香	秋	山	開	嘉	賓	歡	歌	須
Chung	Hua	Hiong	Ch'iu	Sang	K'ai	Ka	Ping	Huang	K'ò	Sü
ue	u	eng	uong	ui	ieu	üng	ong	i	ëng	au
杯	孤	燈	光	輝	燒	銀	缸	之	東	郊
Pue	Ku	Teng	Kuong	Hui	Sieu	Ngüng	Kong	Chi	Tëng	Kau
uò	è	üò	ie	iang	oi	ë	ieng	ia	uai	eu
過	西	橋	雞	聲	催	初	天	奇	歪	溝
Kuò	Sè	Küò	Kie	Siang	Ch'oi	Ch'ë	T'iang	Kia	Uai	Keu

The pronunciation above the characters is designed to indicate their power as alphabetic signs; while the pronunciation below gives the names or the pronunciation of the characters when standing alone. These, with well known marks for the eight tones, suffice for writing accurately any

expressions in the spoken dialect of Fuhchau. This alphabetic system is better adapted to the Fuhchau dialect than the English alphabet would be. It wears no foreign garb. It is already considerably used for other purposes. It exactly represents the sounds, which the English alphabet cannot do. Many of the characters of this alphabet are used in the same manner for other dialects; and at short distances from Fuhchau the pronunciation of these characters varies but slightly, much as the spoken language itself varies. Some of these alphabetic characters are used for similar purposes in the Nanking or court dialect, in which some advance towards an alphabetic system has been made since the time of Kanghi, when the most learned men of the empire compiled the Imperial Dictionary, and the still more voluminous Thesaurus or *Pei Wan Yun Fu*.

If the alphabetic system now being gradually introduced for the pronunciation of characters in the court dialect, should be adopted for writing books on science, history and general literature, and also for translations of the Scriptures, children might be taught in Mission schools to read and speak that dialect. Great benefits might be expected to result. They could read and write with greater facility, and some progress would be made towards introducing a simple and uniform language for China. I know this would be attended with difficulties, but when we consider the course and progress of alphabetic writing in Corea and Japan, we are led to look forward to some such system as this, as the hope of China.

There is another mode of writing the colloquial language, used for some of the local dialects, as at Canton, Shanghai and Fuhchau, which, as it affords greater immediate facilities for circulating the Scriptures among the mass of the people, deserves our careful consideration. It is a combination of the logographic and phonetic, but for the sake of brevity I shall call it simply the phonetic system.

It is the style of epistolary writing in use among the common people, and adopted by merchants in keeping their accounts. Great quantities of books prepared in this style are sold in the streets of Fuhchau, and are extensively read by the laboring classes, who, as has been previously remarked, know little of the meaning of the written character.

This phonetic system imitates the style of the spoken language, and employs well known characters simply as phonetics, when the characters having the proper signification are pronounced with sounds different from the words conveying the same ideas in the spoken language. On this system, characters are selected which have the proper signification, as well as the sounds used for the same ideas in the spoken language, when such characters are simple and well known. Well known characters in common use are, also, sometimes introduced when they do not have the sounds of the spoken words, if only complicated or rare characters can be found having the proper pronunciation. There are also some words in the spoken language for which there is no character of the same sound in the written language. This class of words is numerous at Amoy, while at Fuhchau the whole number of such words does not probably exceed thirty or forty.

This species of phonetic writing is very little used at Amoy, while it is very common at Shanghai, Fuhchau and Canton. Of course, as the dialects spoken in these several cities are different, the phonetic books in use at one place would be scarcely intelligible in another locality.

At Shanghai, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke and the Book of Common Prayer have been prepared in this style, and extensively circulated with the happiest effects. How many other books have been prepared in the same style for use at Shanghai, I have not been informed.

The first effort of this kind among Protestant missionaries at Fuhchau, to produce books in the native style of writing for the colloquial, resulted in the publication of a Phonetic Colloquial Version of the Gospel of Matthew, in July, 1851. Since that time, a revision of this first colloquial version of Matthew has been undertaken, and several large editions of the Sermon on the Mount have been published and circulated. The Gospel of Mark has also been published in the colloquial, and other portions of Scripture are about to be issued.

Wherever these books are offered to the people, together with editions of the same books in the ordinary classical style, a considerable majority reject the classical version, as hard to be understood, and desire the books in the colloquial, because, they say, they can more readily read and understand them.

This style is more difficult than an alphabetic system, as there are more characters to be learned, and yet not so much more difficult as would ordinarily be supposed; especially when we consider that the various combinations of the initials and finals, varied by the tones, amount to nearly four thousand. This system has also the advantage of being already understood; and the amount of knowledge already existing among the laboring classes, enables thousands to read books prepared in this style, who would never learn to read any other.

This phonetico-logographic system must evidently be the great medium of reaching the laboring classes of China for many years to come.

O U T L I N E
O F T H E
S Y S T E M A D O P T E D F O R R O M A N I Z I N G
T H E D I A L E C T O F A M O Y .

THE dialects of Fuhchau, Amoy* and Changechau are perhaps the most important varieties of the Chinese language as spoken in the province of Fuhkien: the first named city being the capital of the province, the second, of much maritime importance, and the last enjoying a high degree of reputation for literature, refinement and wealth. The points of difference between the dialects of the latter two are, however, on account of their closer vicinity to one another, much fewer than between those of Fuhchau and Amoy.

The experiment of writing the colloquial dialect of Amoy in Roman characters (sometimes modified by certain diacritical signs), was first made about the year 1848, by the Rev. John Lloyd, of the American Presbyterian Board of Missions, and was subsequently much improved and reduced to its present form by the Rev. Messrs. Doty and Talmage, missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Since 1851, these gentlemen have issued sundry elementary reading-books on this plan, among which are the Story of Joseph, as related in the Chinese version of Genesis xxxvii-xliv., and the Gospel according to St. John. For an account of the happy success which has followed this attempt to facilitate the acquisition of that difficult language to the natives themselves, see letters of Rev. J. V. N. Talmage in *The Missionary Herald*, vol. xlvii. p. 154; and vol. xlviii. pp. 17, 150.

* In the local dialect *Emung*; court dial., *Hidmun*.

DIALECT OF AMOY.

Initials and their Powers.

<i>B*</i>	as in <i>bale</i> .
<i>Ch</i>	as in <i>chair</i> , or as <i>ts</i> .
<i>Chh</i>	is <i>ch</i> strongly aspirated.
<i>G</i>	is always hard, as in <i>go</i> .
<i>H</i>	a simple aspirate, as in <i>hat</i> .
<i>J</i>	as <i>g</i> soft, or <i>j</i> in <i>Jew</i> .
<i>K</i>	as in <i>king</i> .
<i>Kh</i>	as <i>k</i> with an aspirate.
<i>L</i>	as in <i>long</i> .
<i>M*</i>	as in <i>man</i> .
<i>N</i>	as in <i>now</i> .
<i>P</i>	as in <i>pipe</i> .
<i>Ph</i>	as <i>p</i> with an aspirate—something like <i>p'uh</i> .
<i>S</i>	as in <i>sing</i> .
<i>T</i>	as in <i>time</i> .
<i>Th</i>	as <i>t</i> with an aspirate; or as if <i>t'uh</i> .
The whole number of initials is <i>sixteen</i> .	

Finals, and their Powers.

<i>a†</i>	as in <i>father</i> .
<i>aⁿ</i>	ⁿ indicates that nasal sound which the Portuguese Jews give to the Hebrew <i>א</i> .
<i>ah</i>	
<i>aⁿh</i>	
<i>ai</i>	as <i>ai</i> in <i>aisle</i> , or <i>i</i> in <i>pine</i> .
<i>ⁿai</i>	
<i>ak</i>	
<i>am</i>	
<i>an</i>	
<i>ang</i>	
<i>ap</i>	
<i>at</i>	

* Permutation between these initials is frequent; as *bó* or *mó*, a negative particle = *no* or *not*.

† In colloquial discourse this final is uniformly employed as a simple euphonic suffix to personal names, as: *Kiama*, *Winga*, *Sunna*, for *Kian*, *Wing*, *Sunn*. The Cantonese dialect, on the contrary, prefixes *a* under the like circumstances, and for a like reason, as: *Akuan*, *Awing*, *Assun*.

au as in German, or as *ow* in *cow*. [Lloyd, in his Vocabulary of this dialect (MS.), uses the Eng. *ou*.]
 as French *e*, or *a* in *table*.

*e**eⁿ**eh**eⁿh**ek*pronounced as if it were *euk*.*eng*" " " *eung*.*i*as *i* in *police*, or as *e* in *me*.*iⁿ**ia**iⁿ a**iah**iak**iam**ian**iang**iap**iat**ih**iⁿh**im*pronounced as *iim*.*in*" " *iin*.*io**ioh**io^hk**io^hng**iou**iⁿou**iouh**iⁿouh**ip*pronounced as *iip*.*it*" " *iit*.*iu**iⁿu**o*always long, as in *no*.*o^h*as *a* in *fall*, or as *o* in *lord*.*oⁿ**oa**oⁿa**oah**oai*

<i>oⁿai</i>	
<i>oⁿaih</i>	
<i>oan</i>	
<i>oang</i>	
<i>oat</i>	
<i>œ</i>	
<i>oeh</i>	
<i>oⁿeh</i>	
<i>oh</i>	
<i>o^hk</i>	
<i>oⁿm</i>	
<i>oⁿg</i>	
[<i>ou</i>	as <i>ow</i> in <i>cow</i> .] (See <i>au</i> .)
<i>oⁿou</i>	(= <i>oⁿau</i>).
<i>ouh</i>	(= <i>auh</i>).
<i>oⁿouh</i>	(= <i>oⁿauh</i>).
<i>m</i>	has the same sound as the English <i>m</i> .
<i>oⁿg</i>	as <i>ny</i> in <i>sing</i> . (See <i>aⁿ</i> .)
<i>u</i>	as in <i>tune</i> , or as <i>oo</i> in <i>fool</i> .
<i>uh</i>	
<i>ui</i>	
<i>uⁿi</i>	
<i>u^hi</i>	
<i>un</i>	
<i>ut</i>	

Vowels.

The vowels are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.

1. *A* has the sound of *a* in *father*, except when followed by the simple consonant *n*, or by *t* final, when its sound is somewhat flattened, and becomes nearly the same as *a* in *mat*.

2. *E* = *ey* in *they*; or as *a* in *mate*.

3. *I* = *i* in *machine*. In mixed syllables it is sounded nearly as if written double (= *ï*), each *i* having the same sound as (but only one-half the length of) the simple *i*.

4. *O* = *o* in *go*.

5. *O^h* = *o* in *Lord*, or *a* in *all*. In mixed syllables the dot may be omitted without danger of leading to error of pronunciation.

6. *U* as *u* in *tune*.

Tones and Tonal Marks.

The Chinese of Amoy count eight tones; two of these, however (to wit, the 2d and the 6th), are one and the same. The names of these tones are as follows:

- 1st is *chi'ũ pi'á*, = upper even.
- 2d " *chi'ũ si'a* = upper tone.
- 3d " *chi'ũ khi*, = upper departing.
- 4th " *chi'ũ jip*, = upper entering.
- 5th " *ẽ pi'a*, = lower even.
- 6th " *ẽ si'a*, = lower tone.
- 7th " *ẽ khi*, = lower departing.
- 8th " *ẽ jip*, = lower entering.

These two *jip* tones always end in *h*, *k*, *p*, *t*. If the other tones end in a vowel, then the *jip* ends in *h*, as: *ba*, *bah*. If the other tones end in *ng*, the *jip* ends in *k*, as: *kang*, *kak*. If the other tones end in *n*, the *jip* ends in *t*, as: *kun*, *kut*. If the other tones end in *m*, the *jip* ends in *p*, as: *kim*, *kíp*.

The *chi'ũ si'a* (2d) and *ẽ si'a* (6th) are the same.

The two *jip* tones are distinguished from all the others by their termination. The *ẽ jip* (8th) is distinguished from the *chi'ũ jip* (4th) by the mark ' placed over it, as *kut*, *kút*; *bak*, *bák*. The *chi'ũ jip*, therefore, needs no mark.

The *chi'ũ pi'á* (1st tone) has no tonal mark: its termination distinguishes it from the *jips*, and its having no tonal mark distinguishes it from the other tones.

The 2d tone, or *chi'ũ si'a* is marked ' , as: *kóng*, *bí*.

The 3d tone (*chi'ũ khi*) is marked ^ , as: *kìng*.

The 5th tone (*ẽ pi'a*) is marked ^ , as: *hêng*.

The 7th tone (*ẽ khi*) is marked ~ , as: *khiãm*.

Examples.

1st.	<i>kong</i>	<i>mìn</i>	<i>sì</i>
2d.	<i>kóng</i>	<i>mín</i>	<i>sí</i>
3d.	<i>kòng</i>	<i>mìn</i>	<i>sì</i>
4th.	<i>kok</i>	<i>mít</i>	<i>sìh</i>
5th.	<i>kōng</i>	<i>mân</i>	<i>sî</i>
6th.	<i>kóng</i>	<i>mín</i>	<i>sí</i>
7th.	<i>kōng</i>	<i>mīn</i>	<i>sĩ</i>
8th.	<i>kók</i>	<i>mít</i>	<i>síh</i>

The tones are modified in combination. In words of two or more syllables all the tones but that of the ultimate syllable are changed, *except the 7th, which is always the same.* The 1st, 5th and 8th are changed into one and the same even tone, which is a little higher than the 7th. The 2d is changed into the 1st, the 3d nearly into the 2d, and the 4th into the 8th, or nearly so.

ARTICLE XI.

TREATY

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AND THE

SULTÂN OF MASKAT:

THE ARABIC TEXT,

ACCOMPANIED WITH

A TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY

ALEXANDER I. COTHEAL.

(Read October 26, 1853.)

INTRODUCTION.

THE long established and increasing trade of the United States in the Indian Ocean, and particularly with Maskat, Zanzibar and the Persian Gulf, has lately attracted public attention both in India and England, from the fact that American cottons are silently making their way not only into all parts of Central Africa but also into India itself. The following treaty between the United States and the Sultân of Maskat was negotiated by Mr. Edward Roberts of Portsmouth, N. H., in the year 1883. Its origin is explained by Mr. Roberts himself, in a work entitled "Embassy to the Eastern Courts," etc. New York: 1837, as follows.

"Some years previous, being acquainted with the commerce of Asia and Eastern Africa, the information produced on my mind a conviction that considerable benefit would result from effecting treaties with some of the native powers bordering on the Indian Ocean. Accordingly, to effect an object so important, I addressed a letter to the Hon. Levi Woodbury, then a Senator in Congress, detailing the neglected state of our commerce with certain eastern princes, and showing that the difference between the duties paid on English and American commerce, in their dominions, constituted of itself a very important item of profit in favor of the former.

"The ship *Friendship*, of Salem, Mass., having been plundered, and a great portion of her crew murdered, by the natives of Qualah Battu, and an important branch of our commerce to the pepper-ports on the western coast of Sumatra being endangered, it was deemed necessary that the piratical outrage should be promptly noticed by a national demand for the surrender and punishment of the aggressors.

"About this period, the U. S. ship-of-war *Potomac* was about proceeding to the west coast of America, but her destination was immediately changed for Summatra, accompanied by instructions to carry into effect the measures of Government against the inhabitants of Qualah Battu.

"As our Government was anxious to guard against casualties, it was resolved to despatch also the sloop-of-war *Peacock* and schooner *Boxer*, and also to convey to the coasts of Cochin-China, Siam and Maskat, a mission charged to effect, if practicable, treaties with those respective powers, which would place American commerce on a surer basis, and on an equality with that of the most favored nations trading to those kingdoms."

A special or confidential agent being necessary to carry into effect the new measures of Government, Mr. Roberts was selected for that duty, and was appointed on the 26th of January, 1832. In the month of February following, he sailed in the sloop-of-war *Peacock*, David Geisinger commander, and arrived at Maskat in September, 1833, by way of Cape Horn and the China Sea. On the 21st of that month, the treaty was there duly concluded and signed. It reached the United States in April, 1834, when Mr. Roberts arrived, bringing it with him, together with another that he had negotiated with Siam. Both of these treaties were ratified at Washington on the 30th of June of that year.

"At the period of Mr. Roberts's visit to the Courts of Siam and Maskat," says Mr. Ruschenberger in a work entitled "*A Voyage round the World*," etc. Philad.: 1838, "American commerce was placed on a most precarious footing, subject to every species of imposition which avarice might think proper to inflict, at the price of an uncertain protection.

"Nor was it to pecuniary extortions alone that the uncontrolled hand of power extended. The person of the American citizen, in common with that of other foreigners, was subject to the penalties of a law which gave the creditor an absolute power over the life, equally with the property, of the debtor, at the Court of Siam. With that Court, as well as with that of Maskat, Mr. Roberts was enabled to effect the most friendly relation, and to place our commerce on a basis in which the excessive export and import duties, previously demanded, were reduced fifteen per cent."

The *Peacock*, being refitted, was sent out again in April, 1835, with Mr. Roberts, who was appointed to exchange the ratifications of the treaties he had negotiated, and to form others with various oriental powers. This ship, under command of C. K. Stribling, Esq., was accompanied by the U. S. schooner *Enterprise*, Lieut. Com. A. S. Campbell, both being under the command of Commodore Edmund P. Kennedy.

The expedition arrived at Zanzibar on the 1st of September, and finding that the Sultân had gone to Maskat, set sail in a few days for that place. On the morning of the 21st of September, the *Peacock* unfortunately got ashore at Mazeira, but by throwing above one-half of the guns overboard she was lightened sufficiently to get her afloat the next day, and on the 24th she could proceed on her voyage. But previously a cutter had been despatched for relief to Maskat, Mr. Roberts going with it, bearing the treaty. On the arrival of the cutter, the Sultân ordered one of his ships-of-war to be immediately equipped. She was furnished with supplies, and was despatched the next day for Mazeira. On the 28th she met the *Peacock* on her way to Maskat, where she arrived on the 29th. An order had also been despatched to the governor of Zoar to proceed with four dows and three hundred men for the protection of the crew and property of the *Peacock*, until the Sultân's ship should arrive. An armed dow was ordered to be prepared with a further supply of provisions and water, and couriers with armed escorts were sent to the governor of Mazeira, and to the principal Bedâwy chiefs, declaring that His Highness would hold them responsible with their heads for the loss of a single life, or for any property that should be stolen. A troop of three hundred and fifty Bedâwy cavalry was ordered to proceed to the coast, to protect any of the crew that might be forced to land, and to escort them to Maskat. The guns that were thrown overboard and abandoned were subsequently weighed by order of the Sultân, and sent to Bombay, and there delivered to the *Peacock*. All this was done at the sole expense of the Sultân.

The ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at Maskat on the 30th of September, 1835.

Mr. Roberts soon after left in the *Peacock*, to pursue other objects of his mission. In April, 1836, he exchanged ratifi-

cations with Siam, and arrived at Macao, where he died on the 12th of June of that year.

On the return of the vessels to the United States, the treaties were proclaimed at Washington on the 24th of June, 1837.

The Maskat treaty having been originally drawn up in English by Mr. Roberts, it was put into Arabic by the Sultân's Secretary, Sa'id ben Khalfân ben Sa'id, from the English original. This accounts for some peculiarities of expression and phraseology.

The two texts differ somewhat, particularly as to jurisdiction in case of disputes between Americans and the subjects of the Sultân; but as the treaty stipulates that each party shall be on the footing of the most favored nation, whatever concessions may have been made to Great Britain and to France, in the treaties subsequently negotiated between them and the Sultân, the same are consequently enjoyed by the United States.

It must be mentioned here, also, that in the Arabic text the year of the Christian era, corresponding to 1249 of the Hijrah, in which the treaty was signed by the Sultân, is erroneously stated to have been 1835, instead of 1833.

It has been thought to be a matter of some importance, to publish both the text and a careful translation of this document so intimately connected with the history of American commerce in the East. The Arabic text was written out, with a few necessary corrections, from a copy traced over the original which is preserved in the archives at Washington.

The negotiation of this treaty was followed by the Sultân's sending to New York his ship Sultâny, commanded by Ahmed ben Na'mân. She arrived on the 2d of May, 1840, with various articles of merchandize for sale, bringing at the same time some Arab horses and other presents for the President of the United States. These presents were received by Congress; but, as the horses could not be kept in the archives, they were sold at auction. The ship itself was repaired and refitted at the New York Navy Yard, by the United States, and returned some time afterwards, taking with her to the Sultân the presents sent by our Government.

This is the only Arab vessel that has ever crossed the Atlantic; but to France and England a vessel has frequently been sent with the produce of the Sultân's clove-plantations in Zanzibar.

The title of the Sultân, as given him by his own people, is سید سعید بن سلطان ابن الامام احمد ابوسعیدی عزہ اللہ ونصرہ علی عدايہ i. e. "Seid Sa'ûd, son of Sultân, son of the Imâm Ahmed of the Bu-Sa'idî [tribe]—may God glorify him and grant him victory over his enemies."

Among his sons, the eldest prince, Hêlâl (سید هلال بن سعید بن سلطان), died in Aden, in disfavor with his father. He was much liked and very popular. He had made a visit to England and the Continent, and had travelled through Egypt. He left three sons, Sa'ûd (سعود بن هلال), Mohammed (محمد بن هلال), and Faişel (فیصل بن هلال), who are all in Zanzibar.

The second son of His Highness, Seid Khâlid (سید خاند بن سعید بن سلطان), is governor in Zanzibar in the absence of his father.

The third son, Seid Thuwîny (سید ثوينی بن سعید بن سلطان), remains at Maskat, and rules there when his father is not present.

The fourth son, Seid Mohammed (سید محمد بن سعید بن سلطان), resides at a place in 'Omân called Samâil, of which he is governor.

The fifth son, Seid Mâjîd (سید ماجد بن سعید بن سلطان), resides at Zanzibar.

The sixth son, Seid 'Aly (سید علی بن سعید بن سلطان), died at sea in 1852, on his passage from Maskat to Zanzibar. He was a great favorite with his father, and was much regretted.

The seventh son is Seid Turkey (سید ترکی بن سعید بن سلطان).

The eighth son is Seid Barghash (سید برغش بن سعید بن سلطان).

The ninth son is Seid 'Abd-ul-Wahâb (سید الوهاب بن سعید بن سلطان).

The tenth son is Seid Hamdân (سید حمدان بن سعید بن سلطان).

The eleventh son is Seid Jamshîr, or rather Gamshîr as there pronounced (سید جمشیر بن سعید بن سلطان).

The twelfth is Seid 'Abd-ul-'Azîz (سید عبد العزیز بن سعید بن سلطان).

All these last mentioned reside at Zanzibar.

It is hardly necessary to say that the amiable disposition of the Sultân Seid Sa'îd has made him universally beloved, not only among his own subjects, but also by all others who are brought in contact with him.

ARABIC TEXT.

بيان. تصريح المكاتبة التي وقعت بين جناب المؤيد السيد سعيد ابن السيد سلطان حامى مسقط وتوابعه مع يونيتنت استيت يعنى بلدان الامريكة لاجل الالفه والخبة وتجريّة مادّة البيع والشراء

المطلب الأول. ينبغي الاتحاد التام واقع بين العاليجاء السيد سعيد ابن السيد سلطان وجميع بلدان الامريكان

المطلب الثاني. سكان بلدان الامريكة لهم رخصة الدخول في اى بندر كان من بنادر جناب العاليجاء السيد سعيد ابن السيد سلطان حامى مسقط مع كل بضاعة تكون معهم ولهم الرخصة في بيع المذكور على كل من كان من رعيّة جناب السيد سعيد ام غيرهم ممن لهم ارادة مشتري تلك البضاعة ام معاوضة ام مبادلة بكل الذى يحصل اليهم من بضائع تلك البلدان والبضائع التي يصلون بها بانفسهم يجدّون ثمنها وقيمتها ولا يكون تحديدها من جانب السلطان ولا من عماله في الثمن والقيمة على اموال التجار القاطنين في بلدان يونيتنت استيت الامريكان وكذلك اذا ارادوا اشراء شيء من البضائع فلا يكون تحديد القيمة والثمن من المذكورين على كل مال ام بضاعة يريدون شراءها التجار المذكورين ليكون البيع والشراء من الطرفين والجانبين مستمر غير منقطع والبيع والشراء يكون سالك وفي المعاوضة عند الاتفاق يكون كذلك اذا حصل الوفاق من صاحب المال في المعاوضة واذا ما حصل الاتفاق من الامريكة سكان يونيتنت استيت وارادوا الخروج لا يكون لهم مانع وان احد من اوادم السلطان ام من عماله عمل فعلا يخالف هذه المكاتبة يجازى من السلطان باتم الجزاء واذا وصل شيء

من البارود والرصاص والاتفاقي لاجل البيع والشراء والمعاملة من بلدان الامريكان لا يمكن يشتره ألا السلطان خاصة دون ما عداه من الرعية

المطلب الثالث مراكب يونيننت استنيت الامريكان اذا وصلوا ودخلوا البلد التي هي تحت حكم السلطان او كل بلد كانت تحت حكمه لا يكون عليهم من التسليم شيء إلا العشور في كل مائة خمس على المال والبضاعة والشحنة النازية ولا عليهم تسليم شيء غير ما ذكرناه ابدا والعوض لا عليه شيء من ذلك بالكلية ابدا فان كان شيء تبقى من المال ولا ابتاع فارادوا يرجعوه فعليه في المائة خمس وما عدى فلا عليه مغرم ام غير ذلك من مراكب الامريكان واذا ارادوا الدخول في كل بندر كان من بنادر جناب السلطان لاجل مزر الماء او لمشتري نعام او لاجل تصليح مراكبهم او لاجل ان يبروا ويسئلوا عن سعر السوق

المطلب الرابع تجار الامريكان الساكنين يونيننت استنيت لا يكون عليهم تسليم الزايد في العشور او تسليم غير ذلك بل يكونوا مثل الطائفة التي في اقرب في الخبة

المطلب الخامس ان كان شيء من مراكب يونيننت استنيت الامريكان اصابه حكم التلف او انكسر في شيء من بلدان السلطان او في كل بلد التي هي تحت حكم السلطان فكل من يسلم من المراكب المذكور المنكسر يعن وجشم غاية الاحشام وبما يصح عليه من المصروف فهو يسلمه السلطان الى ان تحصل له عبرة يتعبر بها الى موضعه ومسكنه وايضا السالم من المراكب المنكسر من المال يحفظ حفظا تاما ويسلم بيد صاحبه او بيد الكونسل يونيننت استنيت او كل وكيل مفوض بقبض المال واذا صار على المال المحفوظ خرج فعلى اهل يونيننت استنيت

المطلب السادس - اهل يونيتنت استنيت سكان بلدان الامريكة اذا ارادوا ان يصلوا الى احد بلدان السلطان لاجل البيع والشراء فهم مرخصون وفي تنزيل اموالهم ليسوا بمعارضين واذا ارادوا ان يسكنوا فلا عليهم من جهة السكون شئ ولا تسليم شئ بل يكونون مثل الطائفة التي هي اقرب في المودة

المطلب السابع - اذا احد من بلدان يونيتنت استنيت الامريكة ام مركب من مراكبهم ام مال نهيوه للحرامية وجبى به الى احد بلدان السلطان ان كان رجل يخلص من ايديهم وان كان مال ام غير ذلك يخلص ويحفظ الى صاحبه ويقتبص صاحبه او الى التونسل الذي من يونيتنت استنيت او الى الوكيل المفوض

المطلب الثامن - اذا وصل احد من مراكب السلطان او من الرعية الى احد بلدان يونيتنت استنيت الامريكان فلا عليهم عشور زايد ولا غير ذلك من المخارج الا مثل تسليم الطائفة التي هي اقرب في المحبة

المطلب التاسع - الكبير الذي في يونيتنت استنيت ربما يجعل انسانا وكيلا في احدى بلدان السلطان التي فيها البيع والشراء ان صحت المضالفة والمنازعة بين الامريكان بانفسهم فالوكيل المذكور هو حناظر ناظر فيهم وان صحت المضالفة بينهم والعرب فحكمهم راجع الى العرب وكلما تصح المضالفة بينهم بانفسهم من مادة البيع والشراء وغير ذلك فكل ذلك يرجع الى القاييم المذكور من جهتهم واذا مات احد منهم وعليه شئ الى رعية السلطان يخرج الذي الى رعية السلطان من ماله والكونسل والوكيل المذكور لا يتجر عليه ولا يمنع ولا اموالهم يتجر عليها ولا يفتح ما اغلق من ابوابهم وبيوتاتهم ولا يهجم عليها وان كان او

صحّ من الوكيل شيء من التقصير بخلاف حكم البلد يشكى منه الى
والى الامريكان حتى يعزله بالحال تمت المطالب المذكورة
صحیح ذكره الحقیق الفقیر سعید بیده

ليعلم أنه في ثلاثين يوم من شهر ستمبر سنة العيسوى الف وثمان
وخمس وثلاثين موجب سادس من شهر جمادى الثانى سنة الف
ومائتين واحد و خمسين من الهجرة ادمند رابرت وكيل من طرف
سركار الامريكان يونيننت استنيت قد قبضت وبادلت بالمكاتبة التى
جعلت لها صحیح في مسقط من بلدان عمان بتاريخ ٢١ في شهر
سبتمبر الف وثمانمائة وخمسة وثلاثين من سنة العيسوى على موجب
سادس يوم من شهر المسمى جمادى الاول في سنة الهجرة الف ومائتين
وتسعة واربعين وقد جعلت في ذلك صحیح مهر يدى في مسقط في ٩
من شهر جمادى الثانى في سنة الهجرة الف ومائتين واحد وخمسين
على موجب تاريخ ثلاثين من شهر ستمبر سنة الف وثمانمائة وخمسة
وثلاثين العيسوى

صحیح ذكره الحقیق الفقیر سعید بیده

TRANSLATION.

EXPOSITION OF THE TREATY

MADE BETWEEN

HIS HIGHNESS THE HEAVEN-PROTECTED, THE SEID.

SA'ÎD

SON OF THE SEID SULTÂN,

DEFENDER OF MASKAT AND ITS DEPENDENCIES,

AND THE

UNITED STATES,

I. E. THE TERRITORY OF AMERICA,

FOR THE SAKE OF INTERCOURSE, AND AMITY, AND THE PROMOTION
OF TRADE.

ARTICLE 1. It is proper that perfect concord be established between His Highness, the elevated in dignity, the Seid SA'ÎD son of the Seid SULTÂN, and all the territory of America.

ARTICLE 2. The citizens of America have liberty to enter into any port of the ports of His Highness, the elevated in dignity, the Seid SA'ÎD son of the Seid SULTÂN, Defender of Maskat, with any merchandize they may have with them; and they have liberty to sell the said merchandize to any one whomsoever among the subjects of His Highness the Seid SA'ÎD, or to others who may have a desire to buy such merchandise; also, at their option, to barter or make exchange for anything that they can get of the goods of those provinces, and goods which they meet with there—they themselves determining the value and price of the said merchandize, and there shall be no limitation, on the part of the Sultân or of his officers, to the value and price of the effects of the merchants, citizens of the territory of the United States of America. And, in like manner, whenever they [American citizens] desire to buy any goods, there shall be no limitation of the value and price, on the part of the said persons, to be put upon any property or merchandize that the said merchants may wish to buy; in order that selling

and buying on both sides and on both parts may go on without interruption. And the selling and buying shall be in due course; and in the case of barter by agreement, the mode of proceeding shall be similar. Whenever the owner of property has come to terms, while there has been no agreement on the part of the Americans, residents of the United States, and they desire to depart, no one shall hinder them. And if any one among the people of the Sultân, or his officers, shall do any thing contravening this treaty, he shall be punished with condign punishment. And whenever any powder, bullets and muskets come for sale and purchase and barter from the American territory, the Sultân alone shall buy them, to the exclusion of others, his subjects.

ARTICLE 3. Vessels of the United States of America, when they arrive at and enter the country which is under the rule of the Sultân, or any country whatever under his rule, shall not be subject to any charge except the import duty of five per cent. upon the property, merchandize and lading landed; and there shall not be any charge upon them other than what we have mentioned, ever; and upon the things received in exchange nothing at all shall be charged; but if there remains any property unsold, and they [the Americans] wish to return it [on board], it shall be charged with the five per cent.; and what transits [without landing] shall not be liable to any tax or other charge, as pertaining to American vessels. And whenever they wish to enter any port of the ports of His Highness the Sultân, to fill up with water, to purchase food, to repair their vessels, or to stop in to inquire the current-rates of the market [they are permitted so to do].

ARTICLE 4. American merchants, residents of the United States, shall not be subject to any extra charge, in the way of custom-house duties or other impost. On the contrary, it shall be with them as with the nation nearest in friendship.

ARTICLE 5. If any vessel of the United States of America is providentially lost, or wrecked, in any of the provinces of the Sultân, or in any country under the rule of the Sultân, every one escaping from said vessel that is wrecked, shall be met and treated with the utmost hospitality, and whatever expense he incurs shall be made good by the Sultân, until a passage can be procured for him to pass over to his place and residence; and, likewise, all property saved

from the wrecked vessel shall be preserved with all care, and be delivered into the hand of its owner, or into the hand of the Consul of the United States, or of any Agent authorized to receive the property; and if there be any charge upon the property preserved, it shall be borne by the people of the United States.

ARTICLE 6. The people of the United States, citizens of America, whenever they wish to resort to any of the provinces of the Sultân for the purpose of selling and buying, have permission so to do; and in landing their property they shall not be opposed; and whenever they wish to reside therein, there shall be no charge upon them for residence, nor any impost, but they shall be on the footing of the nation nearest in friendship.

ARTICLE 7. Whenever any individual from the territory of the United States of America, or any American vessel, or any property [belonging to Americans] is taken by pirates and brought into any of the provinces of the Sultân—if a man, he shall be delivered from their hands, and if property or any thing else, it shall be rescued and preserved for its owner, and be delivered either to its owner or to the Consul of the United States, or to an authorized Agent.

ARTICLE 8. Whenever any vessel of the Sultân or of his subjects arrives at any of the provinces of the United States of America, they shall not be charged with any extra import-duty, nor other contribution except such as is charged upon the nations nearest in friendship.

ARTICLE 9. The President of the United States may from time to time appoint a person as Agent in any of the provinces of the Sultân where there is selling and buying. If there arise differences and disputes between the Americans themselves, the said Agent shall be present to look after them; and if there arise differences between them and the Arabs, the jurisdiction shall revert to the Arabs. And all differences that may arise among themselves, respecting the matter of selling and buying, and other things, shall all be referred to the said Agent on their part. And whenever one of them dies, owing anything to a subject of the Sultân, what is due to the subject of the Sultân shall be taken out of his property. And the said Consuls and Agents shall not be arrested, or put under constraint; and their property shall not be seized; and their closed doors and houses shall not be

opened, nor shall any force be applied thereto. And if there is, on the part of the Agent, any delinquency in violation of the law of the country, he shall be complained of to the American President, in order that he may be displaced from his situation.

End of the said articles.

(Signed) *The above recited is Authenticated by the poor and humble Sa'id, with his own hand.*

Be it known, that on the 30th day of the month of September of the Christian's year one thousand eight [hundred] and five and thirty, corresponding to the sixth day of the month of the Second Jemâdy in the year one thousand two hundred and one and fifty of the Hijrah, Edmund Roberts being Agent on the part of the President of the Americans, to wit, the United States, I did take and make an exchange for the treaty upon which I placed the word "Authenticated," at Maskat, of the province of 'Omân, on the date of the 21st of the month of September, one thousand eight hundred and five and thirty of the Christian's year, corresponding to the sixth day of the month of the First Jemâdy in the year of the Hijrah one thousand two hundred and nine and forty. And I have hereunto put the true seal of my hand at Maskat on the sixth of the month of the Second Jemâdy in the year of the Hijrah one thousand two hundred and one and fifty, corresponding to the date of the 30th of the month of September in the Christian's year one thousand eight hundred and five and thirty.

(Signed) *The above recited is Authenticated by the poor and humble Sa'id, with his own hand.*

ARTICLE XII.

N O T I C E

OF A

LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC

BY

REV. DR. JUSTIN PERKINS,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD AMONG THE NESTORIANS;

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE SAME.

BY

THEODORE D. WOOLSEY,

PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE.

NOTICE

OF A

LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

§ 1.

OF this work Dr. Perkins says: "We found the volume in manuscript, at Oroomiah, in the ancient Syriac language, without date or authorship." Having executed the translation during intervals of leisure in his missionary work, our esteemed friend has sent it together with a copy of the original MS. to be deposited in the archives of the American Oriental Society. With regard to the age of the production I am entirely incompetent to pronounce. A specimen of the original is subjoined, containing among other things Alexander's fabulous visit to China, in order that Syriac scholars may decide whether it is of a pretty late date, or is to be referred to as early a period as the times of Abulfaragius in the thirteenth century.

The present writer, having had his attention directed towards Dr. Perkins' translation, not long after its arrival in this country in 1851, soon perceived that the original was drawn from occidental sources; and on further examination it is certain that it is but a translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes, chiefly agreeing with the earliest form of that writer's life of Alexander. The following pages are intended to show the relations of this Syriac work to the Greek and Latin recastings of this worthless but popular novel, to the Persian accounts of Alexander and to some other forms in which the same myth has appeared in several parts of the world.

§ 2.

The mythic histories of Alexander the Great may be divided into the oriental, the Greek or western, and the medi-

æval or romantic. It is now certain that all of these had one common source in the falsifications of history, which began probably in Egypt, and perhaps under the Ptolemies, and which, gathering folly and monstrosity in the course of time, assumed at length the form of the Greek life of Alexander by Pseudo-Callisthenes, and of the Latin version of Julius Valerius so called. I am willing to believe that this work was composed long before the seventh century, to which Letronne assigns the Latin version just mentioned.* That it became popular is due not to the merit of the unknown writer, who lies hid under the name of Callisthenes, for he has no merit of style, choice of materials, arrangement, or power of representation, but to the great hero, whose memory lived in the Greek and Eastern mind, yet perhaps without giving birth to mythic narratives—unless intentional fictions deserve that name. In the course of time many subordinate parts were added to the story, particularly by the Christian mediæval writers; but it is impossible not to see the same woof in them all.

§ 3.

Thus whoever will examine Shea's translation of Mirkhond, or an abstract of Firdosi's Shâh Nâme, as far as it relates to Alexander, and will compare either with Pseudo-Callisthenes, will need no proof that the Persian version of the story was in the main derived from the Greek novel, rather than from traditions floating in Persia itself. But for those who are not likely to make this comparison I subjoin a translation of a passage from Spiegel's *Alexander-Sage bei den Orientalen* (Leipzig, 1851).

"Having in what has gone before exhibited the principal shapes which the Iskender-myth assumed in the Oriental poets and historians, we are now ready to bring forward our own view of the course which this fable took.

"The result, as it seems to us, is not at all difficult to be drawn out of the representation which now lies before our readers. No one, who compares the foregoing account of the western myth with the Iskender-myth in Firdosi, can entertain even the smallest doubt that the latter has made use of the former: all the leading outlines of the Greek myth recur again, and the same is true of Nisâmi. That the coloring in Firdosi differs from that of Callisthenes or Vale-

* *Journ. des Savans* for 1818, pp. 617-619.

rius, and that of Nisâmi again from Firdosi's, can excite no surprise, and only proves that the myth ran just the same course in the East, as it did in the West in the middle ages. Every poet endeavored to accommodate the fiction, as far as might be, to his own circumstances and conceptions: thus Firdosi depicts Alexander more as a Christian king, as he was acquainted only with the later Byzantine emperors. And for this reason too he transports queen Qidâfa [Candace] into Andalusia, since he could do nothing with Semiramis and her kingdom, while Nisâmi on the other hand carries her to Berdaa, and in general lays the scene of the expedition in other countries. The whole has a decidedly Moslem coloring, just as the mediæval forms of the fable have a Christian. The only deviation, worth naming, of the Moslem from the western romance is the story of the birth of Iskender: such an alteration, which is probably intentional, is explained by the offended national pride of the Persians, which was ashamed to be obliged to acknowledge the victory of a foreigner. This very natural turn given to the fable was long ago looked at in this light. And, lastly, that the historians receive the fable as true history has its ground in the uncritical spirit of the middle age, and finds its analogy in the West, as we have already remarked in the introduction.

"Further, we have already expressed it as our opinion that Alexander has been confused with a fabulous conqueror of early Arab antiquity—Usul-Karnein. From this commingling of fables we derive the various ingredients which appear in the oriental form of the fable, but which do not appear in the occidental form, and cannot be explained by it. Here belongs without doubt the expedition of Iskender to Mecca for the purpose of visiting the holy Kaaba, as well as his deeds in general in Arabia, and his journey in quest of the fountain of life, in which narrative the prophet Khizr suddenly is brought on the canvass, of whom the fable elsewhere makes no mention. A very few traits only can be regarded as properly invented by the orientals. To these belongs the story of Alexander's appearing as his own ambassador before Darius, but this story is plainly nothing but the echo of an earlier one, likewise to be found in the Iskender-myth, that Alexander went as his own ambassador to queen Candace. Another portion of the fable which appears in Nisâmi, but not in Firdosi, may be drawn into question as to its source. It is Nisâmi's story that Alexander on his return out of the regions of darkness, after his pretended search for the water of life, received a stone from Serosch. This stone became so heavy in the regions of light, that nothing could equal its weight in the balance until finally dust was brought which counterbalanced it. This story is to be met with also in Jewish writers, and it would be worth investigating to which the priority belongs."

Accepting as we do the general conclusion of Spiegel, we cannot conceive that the particular narrative of Alexander's appearing as his own ambassador before Darius is of eastern origin. It appears in Müller's MS. A., in Julius Valerius, and in our Syriac biography, which three represent the oldest form now extant of the Greek myth. It appears also in Pfaffe Lamprecht's Alexander and in our English King Alisaunder, although not in the published French romance on this subject. In short it is identified with the occidental fable, and, as far as we can judge, has nothing peculiarly eastern about it. Alexander played the same trick a third time upon his visit to China; and this may perhaps, like the expedition against the Russians in Nizâmi, and like the Gog and Magog story, be an eastern invention, although our Syriac manuscript includes it, and thus shows that it may have had a prior existence in a Greek original.

§ 4.

The Fable of Alexander had great attractions for the mind of Europe in the middle age, and served as the subject of romances in Old French, German, English, Spanish, Old Norse, Danish, Swedish and Bohemian. Several romances of this cycle lie unpublished in the libraries of France and Germany, written in the old languages of those countries; but the printed poems are *Li Romans d'Alixandre* by Lambert li Tors, and *Alexandre de Bernay*; and the Alexander of Pfaffe Lamprecht.* Both poems seem to have been composed in the twelfth century. The English poem *Kyng Alisaunder*, was published by Weber in his *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, from a manuscript of the fourteenth, but no certain name or date has been found for the author. Another Alexander in the Scottish dialect, from which Weber has given a few extracts, was translated from the French in the fifteenth century.

* *Li Romans d'Alixandre* was first published by H. Michelant (Stuttgart, 1846), as one of the volumes issued by the 'literary union.' The work of Lamprecht first appeared in Massmann's *Denkmäler deutscher Sprache und Literatur*, 1828; and again in his *Gedichte des 12ten Jahrhunderts*. I have used Weismann's very useful edition (Frankfurt on the Main, 1850), and owe much to it.

The English poem, also, principally drew its materials from French sources. The author says (v. 2199):

"This batail destuted is [is wanting]
In the French, wel y-wis:
Therefore Y have hit to colour
Borrowed of the Latyn autoure," etc.

The same source must be ascribed to the poem of *Pfaffe Lamprecht*, who mentions his master at the beginning of his work.

* *Elberich von Bisenzun*
der brächte uns diz liet zû:
der hêtiz in walischen getichtit;
Ih han is uns in dâtischen berihet.
nieman ne schuldige mih,
alse daz buoch saget, sô sagen ouch ih."

That is, 'Alberic of Besançon (?) brought us this book. He composed in the French, and I have arranged it in German. Let no one find fault with me, for as the book says so say I.'

The published French romance is a most wearisome work of more than twenty thousand Alexandrine verses, exceeding thus the other two poems which are about equal in length, by nearly two-thirds in the number of lines and much more in the amount of matter. That the authors of this poem drew from a Latin source appears from the poem itself.

"la verté de l'estore, si com li rois le fist,
un clers de Casteldun, Lambers li Tors l'escrist,
qui de l'latin le traist, et en roman le mist."—p. 249.

M. Talbot* says of it: "nous ne doutons pas le moindre du monde que le poème, objet de notre étude, ne soit une imitation versifiée du Pseudo-Callisthènes." The same thing is true, unquestionably, both of the German and of the English poem. Although there may be evidence in these works of access to other sources, and among the rest of acquaintance with facts derived from Q. Curtius, it is clear that Pseudo-Callisthenes has furnished them with a large part of their materials arranged in nearly the order of the original. Of their relations to one another this is not the place to speak. Suffice it to say that they choose and reject, enlarge

* *Essai sur la Légende d'Alexandre-le-Grand dans les Romans Français du Douzième Siècle*, par Eugène Talbot. Paris. 1850.

or contract, with the free spirit of *trouveurs* or *makers*, that geography and personal names assume different forms at their will, and that even essential parts of the earliest story are discarded by one or more of them. Thus no portion of the work of Pseudo-Callisthenes can have been earlier than the story of Nectanebus, and of the disgusting fraud practised by him which resulted in the birth of Alexander. But the French and the German poems both allude to this story only to condemn it. The French author says, after mentioning the imputations of the envious against queen Olympias :

“la roine le sot, qui mult en fut irie ;
 Quar li plusior disoient, sens nule legerie,
 que Alixandres est nés de bastarderie ;
 car é l'tans k'il fut nés, si come la letre die,
 ert i. clers de l'pais, plains de grande voisdie ;
 Natabus ot a non en la laughe arrabie ;
 a l'nestre aida l'enfant, coi que nus li en die.—p. 4.

The English Kyng Alisaunder, on the other hand, far from guarding the honor of the Macedonian queen, goes through the story, just after the model of Julius Valerius, with the exception, that Nectanebus is Philipp's enemy, and determines to be avenged upon him. And in general this poem is so similar to the earlier form of the fable, that one may suppose that the author had before his eyes one of those prose French romances, from which Berger gives extracts, in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, tome xiii., and which is little else than a translation from the Latin of Julius Valerius. The German poem again knows no more of the story of Gog and Magog than the first form of the Greek fable does, but both the French and English interweave this singular story into their works—the latter at considerable length. The French poem resolves all the wonders which Alexander saw in India into the narrative form ; while Pfaffe Lamprecht preserves the original epistolary form, which is retained by J. Valerius. Probably in this he followed his immediate authority, although Gervinus* finds in it a proof of refined art. These may suffice as specimens of the differences prevailing in the mediæval poems of this cycle. They imply not only free choice of materials, but also difference of immediate source.

* *Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen*, I. 285.

We have thus reached the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes, and its translation into Latin, as the earliest known source of the mythic life of Alexander. Upon the publication of the former, for the first time, in Müller's edition of Arrian* (Paris, 1846), it came to light that the Greek manuscripts present several refabrications,—purposely made, as if the new editors were aware of the fictitious character of the narrative, and felt that they had the right of altering it at will. Müller finds three such editions in the manuscripts, which he calls A. B. and C. A Leyden MS. from which Berger published an extract, agrees closely with A. To this form of the Greek the Latin version also comes nearest. The manuscript A., although deplorably corrupt, and in parts lacerated, furnishes us no doubt the earliest form. B. is next in the order of time, and C. is latest of all. The two latter afford some proofs of being written after Christian ideas began to prevail, but I have observed no traces of this in A.† All there is heathen.

The following are the principal differences between these three editions, as pointed out by Müller. The MS. B.—which that scholar has made the basis of his edition—indicates a plain attempt to introduce somewhat of the truth of history into the fabulous narrative. Thus in this MS., Alexander, after subduing the tribes of Thrace, goes down immediately into Greece; Demosthenes arouses the Athenians, and Thebes is destroyed. A., on the contrary, with V. (Julius Valerius), makes Alexander proceed on a journey to Italy and Africa, found Alexandria, fight one battle with the generals of Darius, and then, on his return to Greece, sack Thebes; while Demosthenes is the pacificator at Athens, and Demades the favorer of warlike measures. B., however, cannot let the Italian expedition go unmentioned, but represents Alexander as passing from the Southern coast of Asia Minor to Sicily and Italy. The peril of Alexander from bathing in the Cydnus is placed by B. before the battle of Issus, while A. and V. assign it to the time before the battle of Arbela. The wonders of India, and Alexander's marvellous adven-

* Berger de Xivrey had prepared a copy of the text of the MS. C., for publication, and had, in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, tome xiii. (published in 1838), given some extracts from the Greek and from Julius Valerius, as well as from an old French translation of that work.

† For the only possible exception to this remark, comp. § 11, at the end.

tures in distant regions, are narrated by him in A. and V., in the third book, in letters to Aristotle and Olympias. B. inserts these marvels in two places, partly in the second book out of their connexion, and partly in the third, where the historical form is substituted for the epistolary. B. as well as C. has the story of Gog and Magog, or of the unclean nations whom Alexander walled up within the northern mountains, which is unknown to the earlier recension.

The MS. C. contains a still later form of the narrative than that which appears in B., but one which is based on the recension found in that MS. It goes farther than B. in stamping upon the epistles of the earliest recension, which give an account of the wonders of the East, a narrative form. It contains much new matter not in B., as for instance, a story, that Alexander, after the death of Darius, on returning to Ægypt through Judæa, gave in his adhesion to the Jewish faith, and subsequently introduced the worship of Jehovah at Alexandria, making light of the gods of the country. The occurrences at the Cydnus, already narrated twice, take place again at a lake in Ægypt. This MS. runs far ahead of the others in its love of the marvellous, the most absurd specimen of which is that Bucephalus, already dead (Pseudo-Call. iii. 3), even according to C.'s account as it would seem, appears alive again at the time when Alexander is poisoned, and after tearing to pieces the boy who gave him the potion, expires at his master's feet.

A. and V., although manifestly belonging to the same recension, differ considerably from one another. And here the ability to judge fully what was the original form of the Latin version is not in our power. It is quite probable that when Zacher's edition shall have appeared, the collation of new manuscripts will bring this version and A. closer together. At present the principal differences are these: 1. One or the other exceeds in fullness or in brevity. In general V. contracts the more expanded text of A.; but the case is sometimes reversed: thus in the chapter on the marvels of India, V. is more copious. 2. V. has some new matter, not in A., as the passage concerning the mythic ancestors of Alexander from Phavorinus (i. 13), another enumerating the maternal ancestors of Alexander from Achilles downward (i. 42), and a letter from Aristotle (iii. 27). The same letter appears in the Syriac life of Alexander, and must have been

in an early Greek text. 3. Matter in A. which is not in V. —not to speak of the treatise of Palladius on the Brahmins which is evidently an insertion by a later hand—is such as follows: the brief narrative of the subjugation of Musicanus, of the storming of the rock Aornus, and the siege of the city of the Malli; the attempt of Alexander after he was poisoned to throw himself into the Euphrates; and the bargain between Perdiccas and Ptolemy to divide the empire. “Igitur hæc quoque,” says Müller, “seriorum additamenta putaveris.” This may be true of the passage in ii. 4, but the passage including the two last circumstances (iii. 32), is shown to be ancient by the parallel place in the Syriac life, and might easily have been omitted by the Latin translator, whose account of Alexander’s death is much contracted.

§ 6.

An Armenian life of Alexander, under the title *Padmuthiun Acheksandri Maketonazwui* (History of Alexander of Macedon), was published by the Mechitarists at Venice in 1842, and is attributed by them to Moses of Chorene, cent. v. Of this I learn from other sources that it follows substantially the recension contained in A. But how far it resembles and how far it differs from our Syriac life, I have no means of judging. At the end of the first book, as it stands in A. and V., that is, after the sack of Thebes, this version adds: “Here are finished the birth and deeds of Alexander by the wise Aristotle. We commence now with his expedition to Plataeae, a city of Athens.” Then at the end of the life appear lamentations over the death of Alexander by himself, Olympias, Roxana and his captains and soldiers, together with words of admonition to his friends. Neither these lamentations, nor the words above cited, which serve as a preface to the second book, are in the Syriac life, nor in A. nor V.

§ 7.

We are now prepared to enter into the relations of this Syriac life of Alexander somewhat more fully. It consists of two parts, the life proper, corresponding with Pseudo-Callisthenes, and a short appendix containing a curious form of the story respecting Alexander’s expedition against Gog Magog and the other nations within the northern mountains.

This appendix we have thought well worthy of being printed in the *Journal of the Oriental Society*, as one of the specimens of the Syriac work. The life itself must be regarded as a translation at first or second hand from a Greek original. We suppose it to be an immediate translation, but cannot entirely account on this hypothesis for the amazing differences in the proper names, which will be spoken of in their place. The Greek source was unquestionably the same as that from which A. and V. are drawn. Deducting the very great blunders occasionally committed by N. (the Syriac life), it adheres to an original text more faithfully than V. does; and is usually more full than A., when the two differ. Arbitrary contractions of the original are seldom attempted by the Syriac translator. The order of the narrative is with one exception the same as in A. and V.; and in one case only is there an omission of any considerable length. Whenever B. and C. differ from A., they differ also from N.; but in one or two instances C. alone contains passages,—one of which is evidently an interpolation,—which are found in N. and nowhere else. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, that the Syriac translator had before him a fuller Greek text than any now existing. Finally, N. contains two passages of considerable length in the account of the wonders in India, which are neither in A., which is very brief in this place, nor in V., which is more copious. A part of the materials in these passages is worked up in another form and another place by C.; while the rest are not extant in any Greek text.* And here the curious fact discloses itself that a portion of this new matter appears in Firdosi's *Shâh Nâmeh*. As a Greek source is betrayed by one of these passages, the presumption is that both are simple translations from one and the same manuscript with the rest. These two passages are subjoined as among the more curious portions of the work.†

* Comp. Ps.-C. II. §§ 36, 38, with the second extract from the Syr. transl.

† It may not be amiss to add in a note a brief table of contents of the Syriac life of Alexander, although it agrees so closely with the argument of the MS. A. of Pseudo-Callisthenes, as given by Muller, in his introduction to that author.

Nûkteebûs (Nectanebus), king of Egypt, fleeing from enemies, goes to Macedonia, and there by magic arts becomes the father of Alexander, persuading Olympias that he is the god Ammon. The same arts allay the jealousy of Philipp. The birth of Alexander delayed until the right conjunction of the planets. His tutors. Bucephalus brought from Cappadocia. Alexander throws Nûkteebûs into a pit, and he discloses Alexander's parentage. Alexander rides Bucepha-

§ 8.

Some of these particulars we propose to speak of more at large. First, then, the order of the narrative in N. coincides, we believe, throughout with that in A., with the exception that Chapter XVII. of Book I. of Pseudo-Call. in the Syriac follows Chapter XVI. This is probably due to mere oversight, rectified as far as possible afterwards; for in this N. departs from the Latin, and all the Greek authorities.

lus. (C.) Conversation between Aristotle and his scholars. *Correspondence between Xanthus* (Zeuxis in V.) *Philipp, etc., concerning Alexander's generosity. Contest of A. at the games with Nicolaus.* Philipp divorces Olympias and marries Cleopatra. A. returning from the games quarrels with his father, and afterwards reconciles him to his mother. A. invades Mootneea (Methone) with an army. On his return he finds barbarians (Persians) demanding tribute, and sends them away. A. goes with an army to the country of the Armenians (to another city of the Thracians, in the Greek). Theoseedos (Pausanias), assassinates Philipp. A. returns in time to slay Theoseedos, and to have an interview with his father yet alive. Prepares an army and ships. Goes over the sea of Dentos to Rome, Chalcedon (Carthage), Libya, *builds Alexandria*, goes to Memphis (where he finds an inscription relating to Nūkteebūs and himself), and to Tyre. *Messages between Alexander and Darius*, and between the latter and two of his satraps. A. fights a great battle with Darius in Arabia. On returning to Greece he visits Eleoon (Ilium), Babilдар (Abdera), the shores of Oosteen (the Euxine), etc. He consults the oracle of Apollo at Akarnantus (Ἰλίου ἐν τῷ Ἀκαρναντίῳ—MS. A.). Sacks Thebes. Attends the "Olympian games of Corinth." Displaces the Athenian magistrate at Par-teedus (Plataene). *Discussions at Athens*, where the pacific counsels of Demosteenos prevail. Letter of A. to the Athenians. (B.) A. goes to meet Darius, enters his camp as his own ambassador, sits at the feast with Darius, and being detected escapes. Battle and defeat of Darius. A. visits the "temple of Cyrus" and tombs of the Persians. Assassination of Darius by two of his officers. He expires amid the good offices of A., who punishes the murderers, corresponds with the wife and mother of Darius, and espouses Roxana his daughter. A. stills the murmurs of his army on his way to meet Poor, king of India. Poor is defeated and slain. Letter from the Barkhmeenee (Brahmans) to A. and his interview with them. *Long letter to Aristotle recounting the adventures and wonders in the East.* (A. + A.) Visit to Kandaka queen of Samrai in disguise, and his detection by the queen who has his picture. Visit to a sacred place where Serpedon (Serapis) gives him an oracle. Visit to the land of the Amzens (Amazons). Letter from Aristotle, and from A. to Olympias, detailing the wonders of the land of darkness, etc. Prodigy at Babylon betokening his death. Is poisoned by Antipatros and Cisandros. Effects of the poisoning. A new will. Criscos (Perdicas) and Ptolemy agree to share what A. gives to the latter. Grief of the Macedonian soldiers. Will of A. His conquests and the thirteen Alexandrias which he built. At the end, the translator adds that after he died in Babylon, the day was called Ktal-Aleemee, *murder of youth*. There has been no such king. "May the Lord God give rest to his soul with the kings that have followed him and those that hear of him." [Parts where the Syr. transl. seemed to us much fuller than the MS. A., are printed in italics. A. in parentheses denotes addition, B., omission, and C., transposition].

The only long omission in N. of matter found in A. is that of Chapters VI-XIII. of Book II. This passage commences after the termination of Alexander's affairs with the Athenians, and closes just before Alexander goes, disguised as a messenger, to the camp of Darius. In the Greek and Latin, Alexander proceeds against the Lacedæmonians whose submission he receives, then marches through Cilicia against the barbarians, bathes in the Cydnus, and is cured by the physician Philipp, of the illness thus contracted, breaks the bridge over the Euphrates, has his life attempted by a Persian, rejects the offers of a satrap to betray Darius, and when now in the vicinity of the enemy by a stratagem makes them believe that his army is much greater than the reality. In this passage also, several letters from Darius to Porus and to his own satraps with their answer are inserted. Instead of all this N. says: "Then Alexander departed from thence, and went to Macedon, and came to the borders of Persia, and encamped on the river Tigris. And Alexander went as a messenger, till he came to Babylon." The Syriac translator then goes on to describe Alexander's visit to the camp of the Persians, and his dress, in terms which are taken from the description, in the original, of the dress of Darius. In the original, furthermore, nothing is said of Alexander's visit to Macedonia or of his entrance into Babylon (or Babylonia). In the original, again, a motive is given for Alexander's going disguised to the Persian camp:—Ammon, appearing to him in a dream, informs him that his messenger will betray him, and orders him to take the mission upon himself. This looks like an intentional contraction of a full text, but as the Syriac translator has made use of this liberty in no other instance, he may have here followed a defective authority.

An instance when the Syriac translator gives us matter, to be found in the MS. C. only and no where else, occurs in the description of the contest between Alexander and Nicolaus (PS.-C. I. §§ 18, 19), where N. is much fuller than any of the recensions, and deviates in minor points from them all. Thus the games at which Alexander and Nicolaus contend are celebrated at Ephesus* instead of Olympia, and Nicolaus (Nicalcos) is king of Areeta and in another place of Haleea,

* Perhaps a blunder for Pisa.

and son of Kiryana. This is a blunder for son of Areius (so B.; C. has Ardeus; A., Abeaius corrupt for Areius; V. has nothing), king of Acarnania. It is curious that the modern Greek romance of Alexander* calls Nicolaus son of Darius, (instead of Areius, and evidently corrupt). Here it may be worth while to notice a close agreement between A. and N. When Alexander resolves to contend with Nicolaus in the chariot race, he says, according to the Syriac: "I have sworn by the progeny of the gods and of my fathers, and by my conception in my mother's womb of the offspring of the gods, that in this very contest I will vanquish you, in the contest of horses and chariots; and I will also come to your country, and both you and all the people in your country will I conquer in my fury." A. has *Νικόλαε, θυμῶνι ἀγνήν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς σποράν, καὶ μητρὸς γαστέρα ἱερὸν* (sic) *ὡς καὶ ἐνθάδε ἄρματα νικήσω, καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἀκαρνανῶν δόρατί σε συλλήψομαι*. Here B., C. and V. condense, but all the differences between A. and N. are due to free translation. Again, N. gives the names of the combatants at the games three times over; the other authorities only twice. These names, be it noticed, differ in N. from those in the Greek and Latin, and in the three places from one another. N. also alone gives the names of the chariots (or charioteers, as he must have read it in his original text). N., furthermore, gives the names of four of Alexander's horses; the MS. C. gives those of two. But the principal points of agreement here between N. and C. are first an account of the colors which the combatants wore. N. says: "Now the champions were robed in garments of various colors. The first put on sky-colored apparel; the second and third, scarlet clothing; and the fourth, green clothing; and the fifth and sixth, garments of the color of wax; and the seventh, violet-colored robes; and the eighth, purple." The germ of this appears in a passage, concerning which Müller remarks: "Cod. C. praepostere intercalata habet, nescio unde, hæc: " *Καὶ ἰδοὺ Νικόλαος τῇ οὐρανῷ ἐξωσμένος ἐσθῆτι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλυών ὁ Κορίνθιος ἡκαστῷ* [a corrupt word for which Müller conjectures *πρασινῷ* or *πρασίνῳ*, but *κοκκινῷ* would suit the Syriac text better], *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξωσμένος*. This is all which C. contains regarding the colors of the combatants. But the most striking point of resemblance in this portion of the

* As we learn from Berger de Xivrey apud Müller.

narrative between C. and N., is found in a ridiculous story of the achievements of Bucephalus. Nicolaus having plotted the destruction of Alexander in the second contest, where the latter used Bucephalus in lieu of another horse, the animal, lashed to fury by his master's whip, raises his front legs, and strikes Nicolaus dead, and also tears another combatant from his chariot, by seizing hold of his left hand with the mouth. The rudiments of this also lie in the MS. C., where we have *καὶ ὁ Βουκέφαλος περικυλλεῖ τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ τὸν μὲν Καλλισθένην περιδραμῶν ἤ σφενδύνη (?) ἀπερρίψατο.*

§ 2.

On the other hand, not only does N. agree with A. in almost every instance where that MS. differs from B. and C., or from either of them, but in several instances the resemblances, when the Latin translator condenses the narrative, are quite striking. One such instance occurs early in the life, in the account of the birth of Alexander. Olympias is told to endure her pangs, until a favorable conjunction of the planets shall arise. Nectanebus in N., after calculating the stars, speaks as follows: "Delay seating yourself a little, O queen, until an hour passes; for this hour Scorpio prevails, and Saturn and the Sun and Libra are adverse, and whoever is born in this hour, great armies of animals will devour him. And in this hour the zodiacal signs of the sun move very fast. But hold on, and strengthen yourself, and pass this hour; for in this hour Cancer and Saturn were duped by his children, and then was born a biform, and he bound him and threw him into the sea, and the sea was emptied from his increase, and Jupiter took the throne of heaven in his stead. In that hour Leecopus was born, who taught revolution. In that hour Horn-shape bathed [?]; Libra forsook the beam of peace, and from her height came down to the earth, and held intercourse with the silly Idnumtane [Endymion], and of him she brought forth a charming son, and he died by a flame of fire. Therefore he who is born in this hour, will die in the fire. In this hour home-loving Venus was married; and Mars was killed with sword or blow. In this hour the women who serve Venus mourn and weep for her husband. Pass by this hour, for the god Mars rises up and threatens. In this hour, Mars, the lover of adulterers and warriors, naked and without

weapons, with powerful men forced the daughter of the Sun, and he stands in disgrace. Whoever is born in this hour, will be despised and contemned among men. Hold on this hour, O queen; for the star Mercury, the Scribe, prevails in the zodiac, and the horned Goat was born, and afterwards his sons were alienated from him, and went into the desert. In this hour the Dogstar was born. In this hour therefore seat yourself on the couch of childbearing, and advance your pains as vigorously as you can, for the sake of Jupiter the lover of virgins. In this hour was born Dionysus, the quiet, peaceful and humble, who taught rest. And in this hour, Ammon having ram's horns was born. As to the Bucket and Fishes [Aquarius and Pisces?] in this hour was born the father of men and the king of gods and the holder of the world; he who establishes the kingdom—Jupiter, was born in this hour, O queen."

Of this long passage, evidently abounding in mistranslations, and looking somewhat like a version from a poetical original, we have nothing in B., C. or V. A. is here miserably corrupt,* but amid the corruption we trace a text very much contracted indeed, but yet reminding the reader continually of the Syriac. For the passage beginning: "for this hour Scorpio prevails," A. affords the following parallel: 'Ο γὰρ ὁ καρπὸς [σκορπίος, not καρκίνος as Müller proposes], καὶ ὁ παμφαῆς ἥλιος * τετράζυγον πλήθος ἰδεῖν αἰθερίων ζώων * κίετοπιν ἰόντα τὸν γεννώμενον ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ * πάντα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταστρέφει. What the sense is here I cannot tell, but N.'s "great armies of animals will devour him" seems drawn from πλήθος . . ζώων . . καταστρέφει. Again in the sentence beginning: "for in this hour Cancer and Saturn," we have in A.: ὁ γὰρ καρκίνος * καὶ Κρόνος ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων ἐπιβουληθεῖς, etc., and: Διὸς ἀμφοὶ τὸν θρόνον. Afterwards the passage: "In that hour Horn-shape . . . Libra," etc. finds its parallel in A.'s ἡ γὰρ κεράσφορος Μῆνη ταύρῳ ζυγῷ [corrupt, but the last word giving occasion to the Libra of the Syriac] προλιποῦσα τὸν θυσιστον, ἐπὶ γῆς κατέβη οὐ καλῶς 'Ενδυμίωνα εὐκαλον περιπτύξασα παῖδα, Διὸς τὰ χρῆσιμα πυρὶ φλέγει τελευτᾷ [πυρὸς φλογὶ τελευτᾷ]. And in the same way several other resemblances may be traced.

* Müller justly says of A.'s text, which he gives in his notes: "Codex A. uberius narrationis præbet centones, ita tamen mancos et dilaceratos, ut scriba ne verbum quidem eorum quæ exararet, intellexisse videtur." A corrupt text, as well as an imperfect knowledge of the original, may have embarrassed the Syriac translator here.

Another striking example of the greater closeness of relation between A. and N., than between V. and either of them, is furnished by the poem in more than one hundred lines which the flute-player Ismenias is narrated by A. and V. (not by B. and C.), to have recited before Alexander, in order to arouse his pity for fallen Thebes. V. does not mention his name, and makes use of about thirty lines of the original. The Syriac translator, though here also he is singularly at fault and full of blunders, can be traced through a large part of the poem. He, like V., does not name Ismenias. He probably had a corrupt text; but if the translation into English does him justice, where he calls the man a trumpeter, and says that he "sung in the Macedonian language through the trumpet, for he understood the Macedonian language," it will be difficult to say what blunder he could not make.

One more illustration only of the close relation between N. and A. The poisoning of Alexander by Antipater and his son, is despatched by V. within the space of ten or twelve lines. B. and C. are fuller, but omit several particulars. A part of the narrative in A. is on a page where nearly all the words are obliterated. The sounder portion of the narrative in that MS. begins thus:—*τὸν καλούμενον Ἐυφράτην, ὃς διὰ μέσης Βαβυλῶνος διαρρεῖ. Ταύτην ἐκέλευσε ἀνοῖξαι, καὶ μηδένα προσεδμεῖν * πάντα δὲν τρόπον ἐλώθησαν φυλάττειν.* The Syriac here supplies the missing words: "And the house in which he was had a door opening to the river Euphrates. He ordered that that door should be left open, and he told the keepers not to remain there to watch it." Then the two narratives proceed onward together for some time.

In several cases where names are mentioned by A., they are omitted by all the other texts that I have compared excepting the Syriac

§ 10.

A few of the principal peculiarities of the Syriac life, by which it is distinguished from all the Greek recensions and from Julius Valerius, deserve to be noticed. We have already mentioned the two passages of considerable length found in the account of the marvels of the East, and have said that, as one of them at least must have had a Greek source, the presumption is strong in favor of the Greek

origin of the other. Minor peculiarities in this translation are such as the following.

1. The legend represents ambassadors from Darius as demanding the tribute according to custom paid by king Philipp. They had come, says V., "*petitum pecunias a Philippo pretium scilicet aquæ atque terræ;*" where perhaps an obscure apprehension of the old symbols of earth and water, demanded by the Persian king, gave rise to the fiction. Alexander, still a youth, replies: "*Hæccine elementa Persæ mortalibus venditant, quæ cunctis deus in commune largitus est?*" A., B. and C. have the same response, the latter, however, in another connexion. B. and C. make Alexander ask the ambassadors what they expected to receive. They reply: *ὡὰ χρυσᾶ ἐκαστὸν ἀπὸ λιτῶν εἰκοσι χρυσίου.* The Syriac, although not containing this passage, implies its existence in Alexander's answer, which is: "go and say to Darius your master, that formerly, when Philipp had no son, the hens he possessed laid golden eggs, but that they have become barren and do not lay, from the time that he had a son Alexander." It is remarkable that, although not in the Greek of either of the recensions nor in the Latin, this anecdote is found in the Persian legend of Alexander. In Shea's Mirkhond (p. 383), the parallel passage runs as follows: "As Dārā, king of Ajem, deposited in the strong-hold of his treasury an annual tribute of a thousand golden eggs from Fīlikoos, after that monarch's death he sent an embassy to claim the usual acknowledgment; to which demand Iskander thus replied: 'The bird which laid the golden eggs has long since disappeared.'" Firdosi mentions the same circumstance.

2. In all the authorities Darius sends to Alexander a whip and a ball and a box of gold. (Ps.-C. I. § 36.) In the Syriac, Darius adds ten measures of shishmeen (sesamé-seeds) to symbolize the number of his troops. In his subsequent speech to his army, Alexander makes use of these seeds, and says, after putting some of them into his mouth: "they are many but tasteless." And they recur again in a letter from Darius, where pardon is offered to Alexander: "I have sent to you shishmeen. If you can count them you may know how numerous are my armies." Finally Alexander sends Darius some mustard-seed, "that you may know," says he, "that a little mustard is sharper than much shishmeen." And after the story is repeated in the

report of the messengers, Darius takes a handful of the mustard-seed into his mouth and says: "they are few but sharp."

The Greek and V. agree with the Syriac in the number of letters in this passage (Ps.-C. I. §§ 36-40), excepting that they want the last reply of Alexander; but not a word about the shishmeen or the mustard-seed occurs in them all. It is remarkable, again, that Mirkhond follows this variation from the Greek form of the fable. Darius says in this historian (Shea, p. 385): "I send you a coffer full of gold, and an ass-load of sesamé; to give you by these two objects an idea of the extent of my wealth and powers." Zu-ul-Kurnain (i. e. Alexander) replies, as in N.: "... as to the sesamé, although the grains are many in number, it is however soft to the touch, and of all kinds of food the least noxious and disagreeable. In return I send you a *kafis* of mustard-seed, that you may taste and acknowledge the bitterness of my victory."

This same incident of the seeds transmitted by each king to the other passed westward also. It appears in both the French and German romances. In the French, Darius sends a load of small white grains, sweet to the taste, like peas, more than a Spanish mule could carry, and bids tell Alexander that he has more men than there are grains in the load. Pflaffe Lamprecht describes these grains as poppy-seeds, which Alexander was told to count if he would ascertain the host of Darius. Alexander put some of them into his mouth, and said: "They are so soft and taste so well that I hope I shall well drive away his army with my young men." Both romances make Alexander send back peppercorns to Darius.*

3. In several particulars of the account of Bucephalus (Ps.-C., I. §§ 13, 17), the Syriac translation differs from all the other sources above named. It agrees indeed with A., and with that MS. only, in stating that the wonderful man-eating colt was brought to Philipp by rulers of Cappadocia. But it differs from A. and the rest—1. In saying that Bucephalus was shut up in a circular iron prison. But the word here used in the Greek, *καγκελλος* (the cancellus of late Latin), may have been misunderstood. 2. The Syriac states that

* Michelant's *Alixandre*, pp. 232, 233. Lamprecht, vv. 1889-1948.

the whole country was filled with the stench from the bones and skulls of men whom the horse had devoured. This may be an oriental exaggeration of the translator. 3. It is also said that the horse had a natural mark on him, of a wolf holding an ox in his mouth.* 4. Alexander bridles him and then mounts, but in the other authorities, he rides on him without bridle. 5. Philipp, who happens to be on the wall inspecting troops, sees his son upon the horse. These last particulars seem to show a fuller and somewhat different text from any Greek one that is extant.

4. In Ps.-C., I. § 15, Philipp, on consulting the oracle at Delphi (or, as the Syriac has it, on consulting Polceos, a diviner at Delphi, i. e. Apollo!), receives the response, that he who shall mount Bucephalus and ride through the city, shall reign over the world. The Syriac wholly mistakes the sense of a very plain passage, but among other things has: "Surrounded by elephants, he will run a great horse," etc., and these elephants he introduces twice. It is possible that his text made mention of elephants, it being incredible that he should so far pervert the present text, as to draw from it this absurdity.

5. In a passage answering to Ps.-C. I. § 16, the Syriac alone introduces the names of two of Aristotle's scholars, Kalkalah and Pateoon. These may be inventions of the translator.

6. In the account of the contest with Nicolaus (Ps.-C. I. § 18), the Syriac alone informs us that Alexander received from his father forty horses and asses, sixty chariots with harnesses and bridles, and ten thousand dinars. This coin is introduced more than once. The games where Alexander fought are said to have been at Ephesus, but I now suspect this to be a blunder of the Syriac translation for Pisa of the original.

7. In Ps.-C. II. § 16, Alexander compares the Persians to flies attacked by wasps, but in the Syriac to honey-bees fleeing before smoke. This looks like an intentional variation. In the same section, after the passage over the river Strangas (Istrakeenos, Syr.), which all mention, the Syriac alone carries Darius across another river, which he calls the Leeveeda.

* In another place (Ps.-C., I. § 15), the Greek and Latin represent Bucephalus as having a brand of the head of an ox on his thigh.

These examples are perhaps more than sufficient to make it appear, that after all due allowances for mistranslation, and for arbitrary departures from the original or additions to it,—which however I must impute to him in the least degree—the text which the Syriac translator followed, differed from that of A., and from V.'s Greek text, not only in containing certain larger portions not to be found in either of them, but also in many minor particulars. It was, in short, although not a new recension, like those in the MSS. B. and C., another, somewhat altered, edition of the text which A. represents.

§11.

Two instances have just been pointed out, in which the Syriac life agrees with the Persian accounts of Alexander, while yet Pseudo-Callisthenes and his Latin translator have nothing corresponding. In these cases, however, as was remarked, some of the mediæval poems furnish a parallel, and thus make it probable that the Persians borrowed from a fuller Greek text, or from this very Syriac translation. A third instance, where there is no parallel to be found in occidental romances, is the visit of Alexander, under disguise, as his own ambassador, to the king of China (Tsin). This may be found in the third of the accompanying extracts. Firdosi's version of this fable, as we learn from Spiegel's abstract (*Alexander-Sage*, p. 31), is as follows: "Iskender . . . wendet sich gegen den Fagfür von China. Wieder in alter Weise, als sein eigener Gesandter erscheint er vor dem Fagfür, und wird mit allen Ehren empfangen. Er übergiebt dem Fagfür einen Brief, worin derselbe in allen seinen Besitzungen und Würden bestätigt wird, wenn er den Iskender als seinen Oberherrn anerkennen will, und ihm von allen Früchten des Landes Tribut bezahlt—ein Begehren, in das der Fagfür auch willigt." The Syriac life is more modest, and gives indication, perhaps, of an earlier form of the fable, in that no submission on the part of the king of Tsin is mentioned.

Although, so far as I have observed, there is no other account of Alexander's visit to China, yet in the work of Paladius inserted in the MS. A., he visits the silk-making people of the Seres (Müller's *Ps.-C.*, p. 102); and in the English poem the same account re-appears with some additions (Weber 1, 290).

"Theose Seresys, as Y finde,
Uppurest folk buth of Ynde,
They haven seolk, gret plenté,
And maken clothis of gret dynté,
And goth heom seolf y-liche bare."

They are thus an Indian people, as in Palladius.

This may be the place to add that the author of our translation introduces a number of words which he calls Persian, into his work. The first instance of this occurs near the beginning, in an account of some astrological calculations performed by Nectanebus: "He arranged the sun of crystal and the moon of diamond, and Mars, which is called in Persian *Vahram*, of a red stone of the color of blood; Mercury the Secretary, which in the Persian language is called *Tiar*, of an emerald; Jupiter, which is called in Persian *Hoormareer* [?], of a white stone; Venus, which is called in Persian *Anaheed*, of sapphire, a stone of black color [?]; and keeper of hours (Saturn) called in the Persian *Pharnoog*". . . . We find also: "Hector whom they call in Persian *Sootee*" (I. 42, Syr. p. 128, where Meeroz is spoken of without any Homer in the original); "the Caspian Gates, *Veroop Hager* as it is called" (II. 19, Syr. p. 181); "ass-goats, called in the Persian tongue *karboos*;" and "animals called *horned-noses*, which are called in the Persian tongue *merkadal* or *bergadal*" (III. 20, Syr. pp. 272, 273); and a *takti-rawan* is mentioned in two places, the latter of the two being where Alexander's body is to be carried in it into Egypt.

Twice only do words professing to be Indian occur. The male and female trees (III. 17, Syr. pp. 239, 240), are called in their language Meetoora and Mioosa (in A. *μουθού έμιοούσαι*, in B. *μυθεά μυθούες*). The huge animal, larger than an elephant in size, and called by V., as well as by Palladius, *Odontotyranus*,* is said in the Syriac life to have the name of Mashklet, in the native tongue. Only one allusion, and that a singular one enough, shows the translator to be acquainted with the Scriptures. It occurs in the narration of the building of Alexandria, and is as follows: "And this Serpedos is Joseph, the son of Jacob, whom the Egyptians regard as a god."

* This name passed into the mediæval romances. The French romance (p. 291) speaks of the Tirant, a monster with three horns. The English poem mentions deutyrauns (dentyrauns?) larger than elephants, also with three horns sharp and strong. (Weber 1, 224).

§ 12.

The manner in which the Syriac translator has performed his task deserves our notice. Here, as we are not entirely certain what was the character and state of his text, deviations from the text of A., so far as they give a good meaning, and yet may be laid to the charge of the translator, ought not to be reckoned against him. There is reason also to believe that his Greek copy contained a text imperfect or corrupt. But aside from all this, his blunders are so numerous and glaring that we cannot help regarding him as entirely incompetent for his work.

Wenrich in his essay *De Auctt. Græcc. versionibus et commentariis Syriacis, Arab., etc.* (Leipz., 1842), § xiv., raises the question how the numerous versions from Greek into Syriac, at one time made, were executed. To this he returns answer that nearly all have perished in consequence of the Syriac being superseded by the Arabic, while the few extant ones remain unpublished in the chests of libraries. It is unfortunate that the present work, one of the few specimens of its kind, should speak so unfavorably of the abilities of the translator. Perhaps, however, it is not a fair specimen. Perhaps the original work was judged to be so worthless that a competent hand could not be found to give his time to it, or it may have been hurried over without care or revision. The fact however still remains that mistakes in regard to the Greek language, some of them enormous enough, occur not unfrequently; and that ignorance is occasionally manifested of Greek customs and geography.

We will illustrate what has been said by a few examples out of many.

Pseudo-Call., i. §§ xx. xxi. The subject is the repudiation of Olympias, Philipp's marriage with Cleopatra, and the brawl at the marriage-feast. The Syriac translator speaks of Olympias as cast out from among Philipp's wives, and of Cleopatra as added to his other wives. When Alexander, returning from an expedition, finds his father in the act of celebrating his marriage, he says in the other authorities: "When I give my mother Olympias in marriage to another king, I will invite you to the wedding;" N. has, on the contrary: "I will not invite you to the wedding, as you did not

delay, and wait till I should come." Lysias (a jester according to A., V. and N., but the brother of Cleopatra according to B.) grossly insults Alexander at the feast, and is killed by him by means of a table hurled at his head, as N. has it, but with a cup, as the others agree in representing. Philipp, upon this, rushes at his son with a sword, as the others have it, but with a knife taken from the cook, as N. has it. Alexander now makes a general attack upon the guests. He "smote the guests and half killed them—Rupeton and Killectaron, and others their companions—and the house was filled with the dying." The original (the MS. B.) has here *ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν Κενταύρων ἱστορίαν*. The Latin, "prorsus ut nihil de Centaurorum Lapitharumque convivio demutaret." The text before the Syriac translator must have been: *ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων ἱστορίαν*, which he so incredibly misunderstood as to turn the Lapithæ and Centaurs into two persons present at the entertainment. L and R are not unfrequently put for one another in the proper names of this work, as Kartil for Kraterus. In Ps.-C. i. § 22, it is said that thenceforward, people at the time of marriage avoided using the name of *Λύσιος*, lest it should be an omen of divorce. The Syriac translator, unable to understand this, guesses at the meaning: "And in consequence of the death of Lucius, every man kept his mouth from railing."

Pseudo-Call., i. § 46. In N., Alexander says to the Thebans shut up within their walls: "Do you therefore eat the pitch of Doratha, inasmuch as you, by your own will, have shut yourselves up in a cage." V. has nothing corresponding; but A.'s text is: *πάνν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ δόρυ πάντας ἔχω ἐαυτοὺς ἐγκλείσαντας ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν*. It seems strange that the sense in so easy a passage could be misapprehended; but if N. had in his Greek MS. some corrupt reading like *πάνν γὰρ πικρὰ δόρυτα ἔδειτε ἐγκλείσαντες κ. τ. λ.* his mistake admits of a possible solution.

Pseudo-Call., i. § 46. The Thebans, after the sack of their city by Alexander, inquire at Delphi whether they will ever be reëstablished there. This is related by N. at much greater length than by A. and V. B. and C. have nothing parallel. The oracle replies:

Ἐμῆς τ' Ἀλκιδῆς καὶ ἱμαντόμαχος Πολυδεύκης,
οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀθλήσαντες ἀνακτησουσὶ σε, Θήβη.

(ἀνακτισσουσὶ ?)

This oracle appears in the Syriac translation, as follows: "When Plooneekus and Anmeetakus and Turkalus, three heroic men, engage in combat together, then will Thebes be rebuilt."

Just afterwards a Theban at the Isthmian games is represented as throwing down three antagonists, instead of gaining three kinds of victory. Here N. differs in other respects also from A. and V.

Pseudo-Call., II. § 1. Alexander says to the Athenians in A.: *νῦν δὲ ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔλεγον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιούσθαι με* [hiatus]: which V. partly omits. The sense is apparently: "After making an expedition into Asia [for Alexander in the legend had lately returned from Asia], I thought that the Athenians would deem me worthy to lead the armies of Greece." N. however has: "And now I have come to this corner of Asia [Athens!], for I wish to know how you regard me." It is probable that the hiatus in A. was found by the Syriac translator in his manuscript also.*

Pseudo-Call., II. § 2. N. has: "the death of that tormented one, your father;" while *τρικλάκον* properly denotes thrice bad, worthless.

Ibid. "You who urged the Athenians to fight against the king of Persia."—A. "And by this advice you would create enmity between us and the king of Persia."—N.; which is in this place nonsense.

II. § 5. "Socrates who was herald in Alis" [Hellas] in the Greek is *Σ. τὸ Παιδευτήριον τῆς Ἑλλάδος*.

II. § 17. "First know this, that man is born."—N., for "that you were born a man."

II. § 19. N. has: "And I will give, to each man, every month . . . three horses [!], six drachms and grain and straw and grass and food." It should be: "I will give to a footman three gold pieces, and to a horseman five [and grain and fodder," which is wanting in A.]. Was the text of N. corrupt here?

II. § 22. A. has: "Since in judgment, wisdom and power, you are on a par with the Olympian gods." N.'s translation is: "and that those gods whom your mother Olympias worships [!], may raise you and magnify you over all nations,

* Another instance where a hiatus existing in A. may be traced, as I think, in the Syr., occurs in the passage quoted in § 9; where A. has *ὁ γὰρ Κρκύρας* * καὶ Κρκύρας, and the Syr. "Cancer and Saturn were duped by his children."

in word [as if it were *λόγῳ*, and not *λογισμῳ*], and knowledge and power."

III. § 18. Candace, descendant of Semiramis (proneptis, V.), is called in N. queen of *Samrai*. This word is drawn by the translator from Semiramis, whom he thus almost incredibly turns into a place.

These specimens, to which many might be added, are perhaps more than sufficient to test the skill of the Syriac translator. It will be readily believed, after this, that he is often free even to looseness, and that the point of the narrative, wherever there is any subtlety, vanishes in his hands.

§ 13.

The fate which the proper names have met with in this Syriac translation deserves a moment's attention. They may have been drawn from a very vicious MS. It would not be strange, if in passing from Greek into an oriental language they should be somewhat altered in shape; nor would they be less but rather much more exposed to change by careless transcription of the text than other words. And they might be intentionally altered by one who felt that he had a work of fiction in his hands, which he was free to remodel as he chose.

Even in the latest Greek recension of Pseudo-Callisthenes the names begin to show a tendency towards alteration. Thus the MS. C. gives to Pausanias the murderer of Philipp the *alias* of Anaxarchus. The same MS. gives three names to the younger son of queen Candace: *Δορήφ τὸν καὶ Θούαντα καὶ Φύρμον καλοῦμενον*. A daughter-in-law of queen Candace is called Harpussa by B. and C., Matersa by A., and Margie by V. The Latin version does not often vary from A.; but one singular instance is contained in the words occurring just before Alexander is poisoned: "Mater ejus ad eum scripserat super Antipatri et Divinopatri simultatibus," where Müller proposes to read "Cleopatraz" instead of the monster of a name in the text. That name however must have been in the MS. of Julius Valerius, from which the French poem borrowed its materials, as it makes mention of him several times (between pages 501 and 507 of Michelant's ed.). Thus we read:

"Divinus pater vient, li sers de pute trace,
o lui Antipater, qui de mort le manace."

I believe the name in V. grew out of A.'s corrupt text, which is τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ὀλυμπιάδος πλεονάκις γραφοῦσης περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ δεινοπαθοῦσης, σκυβαλίζεται μήτηρ οὕσα ἀνθρώπων. Somehow or other δεινοπαθοῦσης was transformed into Divinopatri in the Latin.

The romances of the middle ages show no hesitation in altering names and inventing new ones. Many of Alexander's heroes are scarcely distinguishable in their new dress, and historical verity is as entirely lost sight of in the introduction of new characters, as in other kinds of invention. The twelve peers elected by Alexander at Aristotle's suggestion, in the French romance, are mentioned in the following lines:

"Primerains i metes Tolomé et Clincon,
Lincanor et Philote, et Dant Emenidon,
Perdieas et Lione avoec Antigoun,
et le conte Arides, Ariste et Caunon.*
Antioeus avoec; or sunt xii. par non."

Here Clincon may be Clitus; Lincanor, Nicanor; Lione, Leonnatus; Arides, Arrhibas (Arrian, 3, 5); Ariste, Ariston (Arrian, 3, 11); Caunus, Calanus (Arrian, 3, 5); Emenidus, who is a principal hero of the poem, possibly Eumenes. In the German romance of Lamprecht, Hephaestion becomes Vestian; Oxyathres (brother of Darius, Ps.-C., II. 7), Occeatyr; Parmenio, Parminius; Eumelus (Ps.-C., II. 14), Eomulus; Bessus and Ariobarzanes, Bysan and Arbazan; and the younger son of queen Candace is called Karazer,—in the Latin, Charogos. In general this poem contains few names,—the attention being concentrated on Alexander,—and of the few the most are correctly written. In the English romance a number of fictitious persons appear, and historical names are somewhat deformed. Let Neptanabus, Clorpatras, Bulsifall (Bucephalus), Glitoun (Clitus), Etheilieches (Eteocles), Dalmadas (Demades), Octiater (Oxyathres), serve as examples of the latter. Mark of Rome, duke Tibire in Alexander's army, with a great multitude on the Persian side, might be adduced as examples of the former. The names of places and the geographical notices in this poem, notwithstanding the anachronisms and absurdities, are deserving of study.

* The names in part take the accusative form of the Old French.

The Persian accounts of Alexander, as far as I can gather, exercise the same freedom in regard to proper names. Filiqûs, Qîdâfa (who is in Firdosi queen of Andalusia), are perhaps stereotyped mistakes of ف for ق, and ن for ع, as Spiegel remarks. The murderers of Darius become Mahyâr and Dschânusyâr; Roxana, Rusanek; Candaulus, Qîdrûs; while the younger son of Candace is Tînôs.

The Syriac version so often shows an intention to follow the original Greek in the proper names, and yet differs from it in many other instances so enormously, without notice and without the appearance of invention, that I am at a loss to account for the variations, which are greater and more surprising in the names of places than of persons. The names are as numerous as in the MS. A., and even a few are to be met with which cannot be found there, where they exceed in number those of V., B. or C. In some instances the Greek accusative serves as the form which the Syriac adopts, and this, with neglect of the Greek vowels, changes a name materially: thus we have Mikthoon for *Μαχητήν*, Olympida for Olympias. In other instances a syllable is omitted, or a letter changed, or left out, or inserted, and a resemblance may be detected. But in a number of cases, and that too in lists, where in other respects agreement between A. and N. may be traced, occur names of entirely another form, which no philological process can bring into connexion with the names of the original. These great deviations, united with the resemblances already noticed between the Syriac life and the Persian accounts of Alexander, led me at one time to conjecture that the Syriac might not be directly derived from the Greek, but that rather the transformations should be ascribed to a distillation through two languages. But this hypothesis could not stand. For the points of connexion with the Persian legend are nearly all to be discovered in the mediæval also; the Syriac at times shows an immediate dependence on the Greek; and the names do not indicate, as far as I can judge, any influence from the Persian. Nay, they differ from one another: Qîdâfa is Candaka in the Syriac, Qîdrûs, Candarus (Candaules). It is easier to suppose that this Syriac translation is the source from which the Persians drew.

A few examples of the manner in which the Syriac translator treats proper names are here subjoined. First we give names of persons, then of places.*

1. Names of persons. Nūkteebūs for Nectanebus throughout. The MS. L. has the reading *Νεκτιβύς*, but no doubt by accidental omission of a syllable. Idnumtaneē (p. 29 of the Syr. MS.) = Endymion. The teachers of Alexander are Lucraneecus, from Peelos—(Lacratetis is his nurse in A., Alacrinis in V.; in A. Polynices the teacher of letters is from Pella);—Apus from Limnæus in grammar = Alcippus of Lemnos in A. and V. teacher of music; Arispeemon teacher of apoplithegms = Aristomanes teacher of rhetoric in A. (the name being corrupted according to Müller for Anaximenes); Aristotle, from Melaseus (*Μελήσιος* of A.); and Ardeepos of Dmatskeeos, teacher in the art of war. Here the text of A. is at fault, being, as it stands, *ὁ πλοκτόπιος δὲ Λαμψακῆς ὁ σαρωῖτῆς*. The Syriac seems to indicate that the first words point out exercise in arms, like *ὁ πλοδιδύσκαλος*; and A. shows that Dmatskeeos is a corruption of *Λαμψακηνός*, —*Δ* being read for *Λ*, *ts* standing for *ψ*, and the vowels being erroneously placed in the Syriac. But where Ardeepus comes from, and what *ὁ σαρωῖτῆς* means, I am unable to say*.

In the list of combatants in the games, where Nicolaus and Alexander contend (Ps.-C. I. § 19, Syr. pp. 60, 61), the Syriac has nine names like the Greek and Latin authorities, but they are all so much altered that two or three only have any resemblance. These are Keetmaus = Klitomachus, Nikomos = Klinomachus, and possibly Adustus = Aristippus.

In the list of persons who visited the talking trees with Alexander (Ps.-C. III. § 17, Syr. pp. 240, 241), Phoormioon = Parmenio, also written soon after, within the space of two pages, Parmaoon; Arthooroon = *Κράτερον* in the accusative, elsewhere written Kartil; Gooroon supplies the place of Iollas in the original; Philipos (sic) has no doubt fallen out of A.'s and V.'s text, as he is mentioned afterwards; Mikthoon = *Μαχητήν*; Tarnesagootha = *Θρασυλέοντα* (!); Tarthakith = Theodectes; and Harclioon stands for Heracleon, which must have fallen out of A.'s and V.'s text. There were twelve in all, but A., V., N. name only eight, Neocles and Diophilus mentioned by A. and V. being unknown to N.

* It may be remarked that Dr. Perkins seems not to have followed a uniform system in his transcription of proper names.

In the list of guests present at the entertainment where the fable makes Alexander to have been poisoned, A. gives seventeen names, a part of them in a corrupt text, besides Medius and Iollas the cupbearer. The Syriac gives twelve, part of which only have some distant resemblance to those in A. Priscos is Perdiccas; Lyseeus, Lysimachus; Peelepos, Philippus the physician, or the engineer; Harkleetondees, Heracleides; Preetoon, perhaps Python.

The list of guests at the table of Darius, when Alexander goes in disguise to his camp, as his own ambassador, is remarkable, as being so unlike the original that only intentional change can account for it. It wears also an oriental look:—can it have a Persian source? The words are these: "Then Darius reclined on his couch, and his nobles and magnates sat before him: first Darius; second Bar Nooragh his brother (Oxyathres in A., which MS. alone has any names in this place); the third Vashinghee; the fourth Door-yagh; the fifth Baninar; the sixth Zadmahir; the seventh Verdad; the eighth Kineear; the ninth, the one in the centre, a king of barbarians; the tenth Prudes, a general; the eleventh Peeus, a chief of the army; the twelfth Rooitmus." A. names fourteen, and the ninth in A.'s list, being a king of Ethiopians, corresponds with the ninth in N.

We add a few specimens of single proper names selected from different parts of the Syriac translation. Some explain themselves, being but slightly altered, as Eskeeanos, Dimatteeos (Demades), Deemosteenos, Hypastecon and Esphais-tohondoos (Hephaestion), Candarus (Candaules), Peeleen (*Phileon*), Ptalameeos, Cisandros, Ooleus (Iollas), Antony (Antigonos), Kilpagra (Cleopatra), Serpedon (Serapis), Soosee-neekus (Sesonchosis), Erecoodak (Rodogune), Esther (Statira), Petaoos (Pytho). Others again are greatly altered, showing either a different text, or unaccountable corruption, or intentional substitution. Thus Pausanias, the murderer of Philipp, is Theoseedos; Alcibiades (II. 4) is Abtermteenos and, immediately after, Alnakbeetus; Kynægirus and Mne-sochares, Koodkanoor and Mecseekis; and so on. Demosthenes himself, by a corruption no doubt of the Greek text, becomes two men (II. 4), so that the second speech of the orator is attributed to another person: "And the counsel of Doodsteeanos was the same as that of Demosthenes;" while at the end of the speech of this man, the translator has:

"And when Demosthenes had said these words." It is noticeable that wherever the name of Xerxes occurs, it becomes Cyrus in the Syriac.

2. Names of places and national names have experienced an equal or still greater alteration. To mention only a few: Pelusium becomes Peelos; Pella, Peeleen (I. 3), where it is in the accusative; Methone, Mootnea. Carthage is Chalcedon (which the MS. A. in one instance at least justifies by reading *Χαλκηδονιους* for *Καρχηδοιους*); Abdera, Babildar; the Scamander, Escamplis; the Euxine, the river Oosteen; the *Ἀμαζονικός ποταμός* (III. § 25), the sea Misneekos; Delphi, Zelepus (I. § 46); Plataea, both Parteedus and Platinus, within a few pages, and so on. A great number of examples, showing greater changes, might be adduced, some of them betraying the grossest ignorance. Whoever will compare the first specimen of Dr. Perkins' translation with the corresponding passage from the MS. A., given in Muller's notes to Ps.-Call., will find a multitude of instances where the names of places are utterly distorted;—much of which however must be due to a vicious text.

§ 14.

The result of our enquiries into the Syriac translation is as follows. 1. It follows in general the recension of Ps.-Call., which is contained in A. and V. 2. It implies a fuller text in its Greek original than that of A. or of the Greek source of V., and one differing from theirs in a number of places. 3. That text was most probably posterior in time to the text of A., but this is not certain. 4. The translation is executed freely, unskillfully, with great carelessness and ignorance both of Greek, and of history and geography. 5. It was probably drawn from the Greek directly, and not at second hand. 6. Its points of resemblance to the Persian legend of Iskander, and the introduction of Persian words do not seem to prove that it was influenced by Persian works pertaining to this cycle; but, on the contrary, the close connexion with the Greek, every where manifest, shows that it may have been a source at second hand, from which, in part, the Persians themselves drew their accounts, resembling the Greek, of Alexander.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. PERKINS' TRANSLATION.

Extract I.—Containing an account of the building of Alexandria much fuller than those of A. and V.—Syr. pp. 90–102.

“And when Alexander slept, he saw in a dream Ammon, the god, speaking to him and saying: ‘Thou art of my progeny, and there is in you a likeness of four gods. And if you do not believe how you can be of the race of the gods, who die not and decay not, I will show you that there may be men bearing likeness from the race of the gods, not in bodily constitution, but in wisdom, and understanding, and foresight. And by the union of the race of gods with men, every thing that is hard and difficult, in the world, men can comprehend and accomplish. You therefore have in you a descent from a serpent, and from Hercules, and from Dionysus, and from Ammon. And from the serpent, you will go over all the earth like a dragon. And from Hercules, you will be strong like Hercules, and will yourself exhibit power and might. And from Dionysus, you will always be full of pleasure, joy and rejoicing. And from Ammon, like me, you will hold a rich sceptre, and in dominion and wealth be master of the world. Now let there be no doubt to you in regard to these words.’

“And when Alexander had seen all these things in a dream, he awoke from sleep, and commanded that there should be a brazen image for Ammon in the temple of Ammon. And he placed it on a pillar; and on the base of the pillar he wrote thus: ‘This image Alexander the son constructed for Ammon his father, and placed it in this temple.’

“And again he had a dream, and prayed to the god Ammon, and said: ‘My father, show me a place where a great city may be built, that may be called after my name, and my memory not be blotted from it.’ And again the god Ammon appeared to him, in a dream, and said: ‘King of the Macedonians, Alexander, this I grant you. In Alis Volis, in the fields, where the fallow ground is ploughed up, is the place to build a city, and it shall become renowned and celebrated; and wealth and riches will increase there; and the chief god shall have his seat in it; and around it shall be

the river Nile. And they shall water its fields with plenty of water, and of its produce many shall be fed. The river shall water villages and fields, without fear in the irrigation, and there shall be no harm from it.'

"And when he had seen this vision in a dream, he departed from that country of Ammon-deekee; and a wild ox came before him; and when he saw the ox, he turned and said to his officers: 'If it be granted to me to build a city in this country of Egypt, I will order that darts be hurled at this mountain-ox.' And he took his weapons and hurled a dart at the wild ox. The dart passed through the ox, far beyond. He stumbled and fell, from the force of the shock, a long space of ground distant, and died on the spot.

"Then Alexander shouted and said: 'O dead, you have instantly shown me the place that is necessary for me. Therefore the very place in which the wild ox died, they call *Instantly Dying*, till this day. And Alexander drove on and went to that spot, beyond the wild ox, and reared a monument. They call it the monument of the god Aslis. He also commanded sacrifice to be offered in the same place. And from thence he returned and came to the wild ox, and saw a great hill; and around it were situated twelve villages, the names of which are Steeleemus, Pakhara, Impthaos, Akleeos, Eenookpeelas, Pythonus, Lyndos, Kupsin, Ispasid, Memistera, Peelaoos, Hankeeteeos, which was in the centre of the hill, and which they called the great city. And when Alexander saw it, he was seized with wonder at the water which surrounded the villages, and marvelled at the many waves, as being very strange, which, though they were in the sea, did not mingle with it. And he saw a place which they called Milla, and its waters entered a cubit into the sea and caused great commotion. Then Alexander asked: 'What is this place? and who built it?' And they said to him: 'Deus, whom they call Zeus; and next, Ertaoos.'

"Now from these twelve villages, proceed twelve rivers, and mingle with the sea. And Alexander saw those rivers thus; many of them were filled from the springs of the city and had destroyed the lanes and streets. And with the exception of two streams, there were none that remained unfilled and the mouths of which were not destroyed. And their mouths mingled with the sea. One of them was Looktosneedos, which was the great river, which they called the

god Serpedos. And this Serpedos is Joseph, the son of Jacob, whom the Egyptians regard as a god. And from that one, proceeded another; they called it Okooreda. And still another great river, which they called Klidnaver. The name of another large one was Noparter.

"And when Alexander saw the place which the great rivers and streams surrounded, he remembered the dream which the god Ammon manifested to him; and he saw on that spot fifteen towns. And he heard that there was in that place a temple of Jupiter; and one of Ahla, whom they call the mother of the gods. And entering the temple, he worshipped there and offered sacrifice. And as he was surveying the temple, he saw there two tables of red marble, which were very beautiful, and they were placed under an idol; and there were engraved on them writings of the priests. And they were inscribed to this effect: 'From the time that I, the upholder of the world, Ceseo Koosos [Sesonchosis], was at first known as master on earth, I set up this image, in honor of the great god, the Sun, in the likeness of Serpedon, on account of the great favor I received from him.'

"And when Alexander read this writing, he thought in his mind that Serpedon is the first god. And he entered again into that place, where they stated the temple of Serpedon to be, and found a dish of his gold. And on the dish it was thus written: 'I, Ahla, son of Permetus, before men were born, made this cup for the great god Serpedon.'

"And when Alexander had read this writing, he said: 'From this it is clear, that the first god is Serpedon; for this cup was made before Permetus had created men. And moreover Ammon thus shewed me in a dream, that "in that place it is permitted you to build a city, where the first god has his seat." And now I implore this one, and seek favor of him; for thus also Ceseo Koosos showed me in writing, that the first god seen in the world was this one.' Then he sacrificed to Serpedon, and besought him and said: 'If thou art from the beginning till now, and administereest the world, and wast the first god seen, Serpedon, show me the city I have in contemplation to build; and I will give it the name Alexandria; also make known to me whether they will take my name from it, and call it by the name of some other king.' And having said these things, he slept,

and beheld in a dream, while he held him by the hand and carried him up on a high mountain, and said to him: 'Alexander, can you take away this mountain and remove it to another place?' Alexander answered: 'How can I, master?' Then the god said to him: 'As you are not able to remove this mountain, so no man can remove your name from this city, or attach his own name to it.'

"And again Alexander said: 'Master, what mastery or power shall there be in Alexandria, by which its name shall be borne through the world?' Serpedon said: 'In this way—when the city is founded, they shall call it *Great City*; and its greatness shall be told in all the world. And men without number shall dwell in it, who shall be renowned on your account. And pleasant winds, by the combination of wholesome air, shall minister to it; and the knowledge and skill of its inhabitants shall be famed in the world; for I will build it in wisdom, and will be a helper unto it; and the waves shall not be agitated by the sea. Blasting and heat shall not enter it, nor shall winter and cold remain in it. Nevertheless, earthquakes shall sometimes occur in it, yet they shall not commit great injuries in it; and these shall be from the envy of evil spirits. And if the armies of all the kings of the earth shall gather against it, they can in no wise harm it. It hath been stated that it shall be renowned in the world. And furthermore, whether in thy life or thy death, thou shalt come hither, and in the city thou hast built there shall be to you war.'

"And again Alexander said to him: 'Master Serpedon, I desire to know what is your true name.' And Serpedon added and said to him: 'First consider in your mind, whether you can compass the hosts of heaven—one of a hundred, and twenty of two hundred—to tell their names; then can you comprehend my name.'

"And when the god had said these words to him, Alexander said to him: 'Master Serpedon, this too make known to me, how and when and by what death I shall die?' And the god again told him in a dream: 'It is not difficult; but it is honorable and well, that from a mortal who is born, his death, and in what way he shall die, should be concealed. Men who are mortal thus fancy in their minds that they shall not die, and that this world will not be dissolved. But if you would know by what death you shall die, then know,

by a good and easy death shalt thou die. Your sickness will resemble that of a man who hath drunk poison. Therefore fear not; for your death shall be without sickness of the body; and if you die in youth, you will be free from many evils.'

"And when he had comprehended these oracular words in a dream, he commanded architects to be called—three wise and learned men; one Synkerton, from Aroonteeoos; and one Areeanaoos, from Agootos; and one Kreermatin, from Kookullin; and he set them over the building of the city: Synkerton, to lay the foundations; and Aroonteeoos, to measure off and build the streets and lanes; and Kreermatin, to build in the city. And he gave them gold—fifty myriads of talents; and every talent is four hundred dinars. And the length of the city is from the tomb of Aslis to Barteena; and its width, from Dnoor to Leekersitra, which they call Sideerniflis.

"And when Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander, heard about the building of this city, he sent to him thus and said to him: 'No, master; do not begin to build so large and spacious a city, and place in it men of various countries and different tongues, lest they revolt from serving you, and take the city from you. And moreover, if the city should make a feast and sports, heralds could in several days only give notice among the people. And if all the fowls in the world assemble, and all the barley-bread that exists in your dominions, be collected in one place, for provision, they will not suffice for food for the people in it.'

"After this message was received by Alexander, great perplexity seized him, and he was thoughtful and anxious; and he commanded that they should call the Egyptian astrologers—those who were wise in sooth-saying, and he related to them this message. And when the astrologers had heard the message, and saw that the king was thoughtful and anxious, they said to him: 'O king, enter upon building the city; for it will become a city great and noted, and plentiful in productions. All the extremities of the land will bring to it produce to sell, and many regions will be sustained from it, and it will be itself in no need of sustenance from any other land. And every thing that is made in it will be of high price among the people, and they will transport it to distant countries.'

Extract II.—From Alexander's letter to Aristotle, giving an account of his adventures, and being new matter not in any Greek source, nor in V.—Syr. pp. 226–235.

“‘From thence we departed and came to another forest. In that forest there were fruit-trees, the fruit of which was very delicious. In it were wild men, who, in their faces, resembled ravens. In their hands they held missiles. Their clothing was of skins. When they saw us, they hurled missiles at the troops and killed some of them. And I ordered the troops to shout and go upon them with a rush. And by doing that, we slaughtered one hundred and thirty-three of them. They killed one hundred and sixty-seven of our horsemen. The carcasses of the slain I ordered men to take and carry to their country. We tarried in that place three days. We ate the fruit of those trees, for there was no other food.

“‘From thence we departed and came to a river. By the river was a spring of water. I ordered to encamp there, and that the troops should rest a little. It was the ninth hour of the day, and behold a *man-animal*, joined in body to the hog of the desert. He did not fear us at all. I ordered the troops to take him. And when the troops came near him, he was not frightened in the least. Then I commanded a naked woman to approach him, that they might the more easily take him. And when the woman went to him, the animal tore the woman in pieces and began to devour her. And seeing it, we ran upon him with a rush, and smote him and killed him.

“‘And from the country of the *man-animal*, in which there were men like him without number, myriads of whom we killed, for we all stood ready with our weapons; and where I commanded that they cut down all their forests, and burn them with fire, and to burn them with their forests—from thence we departed, and came to the country of the *thong-footed*. And when they saw us, they began to throw stones. They threw straight. They hit us. And seeing that they killed some of the troops, drawing my sword, I ran upon them alone. By divine aid, I smote the chief of the *thong-footed*, and the rest were frightened and fled away, and concealed themselves in the rocks. There were also among them *donkey-footed*.

“‘From thence we departed and came to another place. There were men with lions’ heads and sloping tails.

“‘From thence we departed and came to a river. And on the bank of that river was a tree which increased from morning till the sixth hour, and from the sixth hour till night it diminished in height, till nothing of it was seen. Its odor was exceedingly agreeable. I gave orders to collect from its leaves and fruits, when suddenly an evil spirit smote the troops, and cruelly distressed them. And we heard the sound of hard blows, and sores and wounds appeared on the backs of the soldiers. And afterwards we heard a voice from heaven like the sound of thunder; and thus it said: ‘Let no man cut any thing from this tree, nor come near it; for if you come near it, all your troops will die.’ There were also birds that resembled partridges. I gave orders that they should cut nothing from the tree, nor kill any of the birds. And there were in the river stones, the color of which in the water seemed very dark; but when we took them out of the water, they were very white; and when we again threw them into the water, their color was very black.

“‘And from thence we departed and encamped by a spring. And then passing through a waste desert, we reached the ocean which surrounds all the world. And while we were passing along the sea-shore, I commenced drumming. And I heard the voices of men speaking in the Greek language, but did not see them. Nor did we see any thing else in the sea, save that we saw something like an island, and it was not very far from us. Some of the troops were desirous of going to that island, by swimming; and having taken off their clothes they went down into the sea; and animals in the shape of men, very stout in body, came up from the deep and seized twenty of the troops, and went down again into the deep.

“‘From thence we departed, from fear, and came to a certain place, the men of which place had no head, but had a mouth and eyes in their breasts. They talked like men. They gathered mushrooms from the earth and ate them. Each mushroom weighed ten drachms. The minds of those men were like little children. They were very simple in their conduct.

“‘From thence we departed and came to a place which was a desert; and in that place there was a bird on a tree

which had no leaves nor fruit. It was accustomed to sit on it. On its head was something resembling the rays of the sun. They called it the *palm-bird*.

“From thence we again journeyed and came to a place of many forests of great trees. In that forest there were animals like wild asses in our country. The length of each was fifteen cubits. They were not ferocious; and the troops killed and ate many of them. And we journeyed on sixty-five days, and arrived at a place which they call Ooberkier. On the seventh day, we saw two birds with very large bodies, their faces like the faces of men. Suddenly, one of them said in the Greek language: ‘Alexander, you tread on the soil of the gods.’ Again, in the same language, it said to me: ‘Alexander, conquering Darius and vanquishing king Poor is enough for you.’ And having heard such a voice, we returned from that land of the Ooberkierree, and came on. And I ordered to go from thence to Wilkah. And from thence we arrived at the declivity of a mountain. The mountain was very high. On the top of the mountain was built a temple, its height a hundred cubits. And when I beheld it, I greatly marvelled. And there was a gold chain bound around it, and the weight of the chain was three hundred drachms. I ordered that the door of the temple should be opened, that I and my army might enter. And on entering it, we found in it stairs of sapphire—two thousand and five hundred. And we saw in it a very large building; the windows around it were of gold; and there were in it images of thirty masons, made of pearls and gold. On coming near to the building, we saw that it was all gold, and on the windows were golden images—images of Panstorius, i. e. singers. They stood in the windows, dancing. In the temple there was built a golden altar. By the altar there stood candlesticks of sapphire; the height of each was forty cubits; and golden candles were placed on them; and they glistened like the light of a candle. And on the altar, instead of fire, there was placed a candle made of stone. And it glistened like light. In the temple there was placed a golden bedstead, made with pearls. Its length was forty cubits. And a very costly bed was spread on it. And one like a great man was reclining on it. And a brightness shone from him like the brightness of lightning. And a robe of gold and emeralds, and other beautiful stones, was

spread over him; and there was something like a vine, its fruit made of gold and pearls, and before the bed was placed a table of ivory. And when I beheld, I did not desire to approach rashly, and uncover the face and see who he was.

“Then I sacrificed to the god in the temple and worshipped, and turned from thence and went out. And when I was going out at the door, suddenly there was a fearful voice, like the sound of thunder, and the noise of the rushing and raging of the sea. And when the tumultuous noise subsided, again I heard another voice from within the temple, and it said thus to me: ‘King Alexander, rest—cease from thus worrying yourself. Do not penetrate the temple of the gods and discover their mysteries, for he whom you saw on that bed is I myself, Dionysus; and I say, I who committed to you this warfare, that you will easily conquer in this war, and come to our country to rest, and they will number you in the same category with us.’

“And having heard such a voice, my mind was seized with fear and with joy; and again I sacrificed to him and worshipped, and went out to travel about the place, and to write this view of it.

“And then I commanded those fifty Hindoos, my guides, who had misled me into such paths and places, to be slain and cast into the sea.”

Extract III.—Being matter not found in any Greek source, nor in V.—Syr. pp. 244–270.

N. B. The translation of the following fragment has been executed by Rev. Dr. MURDOCK and submitted before printing to the inspection of Prof. W. W. TURNER, whose sagacity and learning enabled him to make a number of valuable suggestions. Dr. Perkins' translation of this portion was unfortunately lost, having been separated from the body of the MS. in order to be sent to Prof. William D. Whitney for his examination of several points, and disappearing probably by robbery of the mail.

"Then I held a consultation with my troops; and we decamped again from there, and marching fifteen days in a straight course, we came to the country of the Prisikaiee. And to Alexander and these Hindoos and his troops, the Hindoos dwelling in that country brought presents.

"We had presents also from distant countries. And we had skins of fishes, like the skins of leopards; yea, some of the skins were [as] of enormous leopards. And among them were heads of a cubit each, and of three cubits each. And the ears of those fishes were, some of them, six cubits each; and the weight of each of them was a hundred pounds. And the heads of these fishes were two cubits long, and some of them three. They were in the shape of well-pitchers, each holding fifty cups of water, which were very beautiful in appearance. And thirty purple sponges, and fifty white ones. So we took some of them with us from the country of the Prisikaiee; and we turned our heads to the West.

"And after travelling ten days, we came to a high mountain. And some of the people inhabiting the mountain said to us: 'King Alexander, thou canst not pass over this mountain; because a great god, in the form of a dragon, dwells there, and guards this region from foes.' And I said to them: 'In what place is that god?' They replied: 'He is three days' journey from here, in a river.' And I said to them: 'Does this god change his form?' And they said to me: 'From fear of him, no adversaries dare come to this region.' And I said to them: 'Can he keep off adversaries from all the region round about you?' And they said: 'No, only from this part where his habitation is.'

"And I said to them: 'This god hath a temple; and ye go to it, and are acquainted with it.' And they said: 'Who can go near it, since he, with the breath of his mouth, swallows down an elephant?' And I said: 'How do ye know, as ye have not gone near him?' And they said: 'We know that many persons are swallowed by him every year, besides the two bullocks which are constantly given him every day for food from our country. He moreover slays men.' And I said: 'How do ye give [him] these two bullocks to eat?' And they said: 'One devoted to the service of the god, collects bullocks from the country, and daily, in the morning, before the god leaves his temple, leads forth two bullocks, and goes down to the bank of the river, and ties

the bullocks' legs, and throws them down on the river-bank; and then ascends to the top of the mountain. And when the god comes out of his temple, he crosses over the fearful river, and swallows down those bullocks.'

"And I said to them: 'Does this god cross over but once, or does he cross whenever he fancies?' And they said: 'He crosses but once.' Then I concluded that this was no god, but a trick of evil demons. And, retaining some natives of the place, I decamped and came to the bank of the river. And I gave orders, that they should expose the bullocks according to their wont, and I and my troops would take [our] stand on the top of the mountain.

"And we looked on, when the wild beast came out of his cavern, and went to the bank of the river. And when I saw the beast, I supposed it to be a black cloud resting upon the river-bank. And the smoke that issued from his mouth was like a thick cloud in the midst of darkness. And we saw when he crossed over the river, and before he came up to the bullocks, that he, by the suction of his mouth, drew in those bullocks and swallowed them, as if shot from a sling.

"And after seeing such things, I gave directions for the next day, that in place of these two large bullocks, calves of a very small size should be set forth; so that the beast should become very hungry the next day. And on that day, when he found the calves, he went every way, along the side of the river: and as he passed along the second time, being urged by hunger, he turned this way and that, and found nothing. And when he inclined to come towards the mountain, my soldiers, all as one, set up a shout against him. And when he heard that shout, he turned back and went over the river. And at that instant I commanded that two bullocks of huge bodies should be brought, and be killed and skinned, and their flesh taken away; and that their skins should be filled with gypsum and pitch and lead and sulphur, and should be laid in that place.

"And when they had so done, the wild beast crossed the river again as was his wont; and when he came to these two skins, he instantly drew them with his breath and swallowed them. And as soon as the gypsum entered his belly, we saw his head fall to the ground, and his mouth gaped open: and he prostrated many trees with his tail. And when I saw that

he had fallen, I ordered a blacksmith's bellows to be brought, and balls of brass to be heated in the fire and thrust into the mouth of the beast. And when five balls had been thrust into his mouth, the beast closed his mouth and died.

"And we decamped from there, and came to a country in which was a high mountain, and from the mountain flowed a river called Bar-Satees. And they told us that there was a god in the mountain: and the whole mountain was of sacrifice. Then I and my troops went up the mountain. And the mountain was full of fountains and springs of water. And the people of that country said to me: 'You must not go presumptuously up this mountain; because its gods are powerful. And I commanded sacrifices to be there offered. And immediately, from the mount there came many sorts and sounds of music. And on hearing [them], I again worshipped. And from the mountain I heard a voice, in the Greek tongue, which said to me thus: 'King Alexander, return, and advance no further; because, from here and onward is the country of men who conquer and subdue vast armies by their skill and valor.' And in reply I said: 'Since it has thus pleased you, shew me whether, if I go alone, I shall return from there alive.' And the gods replied and said to me: 'Go thou only; for to thee it is conceded to behold something excellent.'

"And I responded again, and said: 'What is that something excellent, which I am to behold?' And the gods said to me: 'Thou art to behold a king, a son of the gods, who travels as an honored priest from his own to many lands. And thou wilt learn, how from a small matter a thing becomes so honorable.' And when I heard these words, I commanded a city to be built near the mountain, and a statue of brass to be erected upon it, and to name it Alexandria Queen of the Mountains.

"And I commanded my troops to remain in that country. And I and my twenty friends arose, and went to a land called Kathaon: and we halted in that place two days. And from there we decamped, and marched ten days along mountains and watery places; and then we marched fifteen days in a desert, and came to the borders of China (Tzin). And when we came to China, I assumed the name of Pithacoos, the messenger of king Alexander. And as we drew near to the gates of the king of China, they went in and

informed him concerning me. And he commanded that I should be interrogated outside. Then Gundaphar, captain of his host, questioned me respecting my coming to the land of China. And I told him that I was a messenger from king Alexander. And Gundaphar said to me: 'Wherefore hast thou come hither?' And I said: 'I am sent to the king of China, and my message is to him; and it is not fitting that I should tell my master's message to thee.' Then Gundaphar went in to the king of China, and informed him.

"The king then ordered the palace to be decorated, the curtains of silk to be suspended, and the golden couch to be spread; and told them to call me. And when I entered his presence, I did not worship him. And he questioned me, and said: 'Whence comest thou?' And I answered and said: 'I am the messenger of king Alexander.' And he said to me: 'Who is this Alexander?' And I replied: 'He is from Macedonia, the sovereign of that country, and the ally of the Persians and the Hindoos.' And he said to me: 'What country is this Macedonia?' And I said: 'It is in the western part of the world, where the sun goes down.' And he said to me: 'And where did you leave him?' And I said: 'He is near by, and not far off; behold, he is by the river Beersatoos.'

"And he said to me: 'For what purpose did he send thee?' And I said: 'My master Alexander is by the gods constituted lord over the kings of the inhabited world; and I have come to conduct thee to him. And my message is this: Thus saith Alexander: By the good pleasure and assent of the celestial gods, I am placed over all the kings of the inhabited world, and I am to be head and commander over all governors. And whoever voluntarily accepts this my supremacy, shall possess all his territory, and remain lord over it: but whoever does not accept me, shall not retain his country and his dominions. And if thou dost not believe me, that this is so, inquire and learn what majesty and renown in the world Darioosh king of Asia possessed: for he also was a warrior, and was victorious; but afterwards, because of his resistance, to what a condition was he reduced and humbled! And also Poor, king of the Hindoos, —who was so great and powerful, and contrived sagacious schemes and projects of various kinds, and was abundant in resources, and considered himself, not only as sovereign over

men, but also as chief and lord among the gods,—he likewise, because he did not yield, learned what a fate overtook him. And now, in regard to thee, I have heard that intelligence and prudence are happily and eminently thine. And I have thought fit, not to come against thee as an enemy, with armies and troops; but I have sent a messenger to thee as to a friend; that thou mayest come voluntarily to me, and that I may see and taste the riches of thy knowledge, from the doors of thy mouth, by the fruits of thy words. And if there is any thing very noticeable in thy country, bring it with thee, that I may see it.'

"Then he questioned me, and said: 'Is king Alexander a giant in body?' And I said to him: 'No; he is even very small.' And he said to me: 'Do thou, in accordance with the custom of ambassadors, refresh thyself with me to-day, and to-morrow thou shalt receive my response to thy message.' And as it was the hour for dining, the king of China gave orders, and a feast was prepared in his house; and they placed me on the lower couches in the eating-hall.

"And when the feast terminated, he ordered a bed-chamber to be prepared in the royal palace, and directed me to sleep there. And in the morning, while it was yet dark, he commanded me to be conducted into his presence. And when I entered, I did obeisance to him. And when he saw me do obeisance to him, he became suspicious of me.'

"And again he directed questions to be put to me. And when I again repeated my message before him, he said to me: 'Thy message is that of yesterday, but thy actions are not those of yesterday; for yesterday thy behavior was of one sort, and to-day it is of another.' And I said to him: 'Thou hast rightly said, O king; because yesterday when naked I was clothed in the language of my message on behalf of Alexander, and thou, O king, sawest Alexander in me, and in the speech of my lips thou heardest that of Alexander: and to-day Pithaoo is ambassador.' Then he commanded a girdle to be brought. And he said: 'Tell me how Alexander is framed as to his stature.' And I said: 'Alexander is like me as to his stature.' And he said to me: 'Is the king no taller than thou?' And I said: 'No.' And he commanded my height and breadth to be measured, and the girdle to be cut off, according to my measure: and when it was cut off, he ordered it to be passed around [me] and marked.

"And he said to me: 'Pithaoos, go, and take this answer from me to king Alexander, and say to him: I have heard thy message which thou didst send to me. And I have heard of thy prosperity, and thy power, and thy grandeur; and likewise of thy victory over Darioosh, and of thy power and triumph over Poor. Yet the subjugation of many nations I consider to proceed not solely from thy good fortune, that [thou shouldest have] such pride; but I think it is also owing to their ill fortune, and to this more than any thing. And as it was given thee by fortune, therefore there is given to thee fortune and prosperity. But I am not given to such pride as that of Darioosh and Poor who were before thee. Thou shouldest therefore know, that in prosperity thou art to have no confidence: and further than this vex not thy soul. And of such as have approached and come near to the completion of the days of their life, let not thy hands become executioners; for the office of an executioner is of vile repute. And in regard to my coming to thee, [as] thou hast sent unto me, this [is my answer]: Lo, by the words of my mouth I stand before thee, and with the tongue of Pithaoos I converse with thee. And therefore, be not angry that my body cometh not to thee. And come not thou to our country, in battle array; because we have never surrendered. And I say this not on thy account, as if we were more valorous than thou, but this I say for my own sake. But if thou shouldest come against us, and our good fortune should fail us, like that of Darioosh and Poor, thou slaying our king, and thy hands being our executioners, yet no one of us would accept slavery to save his life. And let this also be in thy cogitation, that if thy fortune should at last turn against thee, this great name of thine and thy power would, in that case, perish. For this deceptive prosperity does not remain constantly in one place. We mortals, therefore, who have done and accomplished so much,—who, with many expeditions and toils and slaughterings, have exterminated numerous persons of our own nature and kind, and have conquered many countries,—yet afterwards, and against our will, every thing vanishes from us and is gone; and of the multitude of countries we had seized, and the many lands we had subjugated, the earth becomes to us like the measure of this girdle.' And at the same time he put the girdle into my hands.

"He also gave me a coronet of gold, which was set with pearls and sardonyxes.

And quicksilver [?], a thousand talents.

And he gave me ten thousand bracelets uncolored.

And five thousand silken garments.

And two hundred specimens of cane.

And a hundred Egyptian skins.

And a thousand Hindoo swords.

And five horses of the desert; and a thousand skins of musk.

And ten horns of wild beasts, each a cubit long.

"And he said to me: 'Take these as a present from me to Alexander.' Now I was inclined not to receive them; but afterwards I reflected that perhaps he would become suspicious of me, if I did not take them, and recognize me as being myself Alexander.

"And from there I and my friends returned, and came to the encampment of my troops. And from there I gave orders to decamp; and from among mountains and a rough country, we came to a level and desert country. And from there we made a march of twelve days in a wilderness. And in that wilderness we saw numerous wild beasts, which were like our goats in shape, but their heads and teeth differed, being like those of foxes. And we saw those beasts by the saltations of which they get musk. And on the thirteenth day we came to a place where there were camps of a barbarous and savage people, well equipped with spears and arms. And when the savage people saw us, they advanced against our camp with arms in battle array. And when we saw that they came for a fight, I directed my troops to equip themselves for battle. And when they came near and attacked us, my troops shouted, and we closed in together. And while we were commingled together in the battle, it chanced, by a contingency from the gods, that I killed the captain of these banditti with the sword. And when they saw that their captain was slain, and also many men on both sides, they turned their backs, and fled from us. And I commanded my troops to slay the women and children of these savages, and to plunder their goods.

"And from there we decamped and came to a country called Z'bosos. And all the people of that country, with the priests of their deities, came out to us, bringing presents and refreshments. And we remained in that land ten days. And I commanded the priests of the country to offer sacrifices.

"And from there we decamped and came to a country called Soor. And the country was large and populous. And there I saw a great river, which flowed from the South and the West. And this river was difficult to pass: and there was no method whatever of passing over it. I had great anxiety, and made supplication to all the gods of Macedonia, and to Amoon the god of Lebaees; and also vowed vows, that, if they would aid me, and I should pass over this river with my troops, I would build a city at the passage of the river, and in it erect a temple for the gods. And when the people of that country heard [thereof], they sent unto me, saying: 'We will not permit you to enter our country.' And when I heard this message, I commanded the messengers to be bound, and a guard to be set over them. And I asked them: 'Who is the ruler in this country? and how old is he? in what town does he reside? and how many eminent men of the country are with him?' And the messengers said: 'Swear to us, by the gods, that thou wilt do us no harm, and we will conduct thee, and shew thee the place: for all the eminent men of the country are in that town.'

"Then I swore to them, by all the gods, that if they would inform me truly, I would not kill them; but if they should say any thing to the contrary, I would slay them with the others in the towns. And, with the good pleasure of the gods, I commanded these eight messengers to be confined, each one by himself, and then to be interrogated. And when we received their several answers, they were of accord. My troops I commanded to be prepared; and [I ordered] Kookäroos, captain of the host, to take one of these bound messengers, and to go forward by night, with fifty horsemen, and to explore the way, and see the town: for it was evening, and we knew not the customs of the country, and I was fearful about it. Then an officer went and explored the way; and returning, he came to me and said: 'The road is an easy one, and the town is not large.'

"Then I and my troops marched to that town. And I commanded the trumpets to sound, and the battalions to encompass the town. And I ordered much wood to be brought, and a fire to be kindled all around the town, and the battalions to be stationed outside the fire. And I commanded that every one fleeing from the town should be slain.

"And when the men of the town heard the sound of the trumpets, they ran out of the houses, and seeing the fire that encompassed the town, some were disposed to flee; but in fleeing from the city, they fell by the hand of my soldiers. Then their chief and the principal men of the town came to the outside of the town and said with a loud voice: 'King Alexander, turn thy wrath into reconciliation, and demand not thy servants to be slain.' Then I bade them come to me. And when they came, I ordered them to be carefully guarded.

"And we came to the country of the Soondikaiee. And when I saw that the whole country surrendered to me, I commanded a city to be built there, and to be named Samarkand. And in that city, I commanded a temple to be built to Zaa, whom they call Nanyee. And when they were erecting the temple, I ordered it to be painted with gold and the best paints; and inscriptions in Greek to be inscribed upon it. And I commanded all the Soondikaiee to assemble in the place, and to make a feast to Zaa, and offer sacrifices to her. And when the Soondikaiee had so done in their country, their satisfaction as to the love and affection of Alexander was confirmed.

"And again we decamped from there, and came to the farther side of the river Teseetoos, which is interpreted Behrooz. And when the king saw that the river was large and difficult to pass, he commanded all the carpenters and artificers of Sood [i. e. Samarcand] to be brought together, and he ordered much timber to be given to them. And he also commanded Espheestahandoos to prepare five hundred Alexandrian boats. And he ordered that the aspect of the boats should be very sharp-pointed. And he commanded two ropes to be made of the barks of trees, one of which was fifty cubits in length; and that men should pass over to the other side of the river in the boats, and should build on that shore a sort of tower. And while they were so doing, I commanded the width of the river to be measured, and all the boats to be brought to the bank of the river. And [I ordered] them all to be lashed together, one after another, with the one rope, to planks of wood; and [when] with the other rope they had lashed to the boats, according to the number of them, bullock-skins filled with air. [I ordered them] to pass this rope over and make its end fast to the tower. And when they had made this rope fast, he com-

manded that the stronger rope, with the boats, should be fastened from one side [of the river] to the other; and that many men should pull on the rope from the shore. And when the foremost of the boats came to the middle of the river, and the boats were drawn and stretched by [their] sagging, he straightened the bridge, commanding many men, on this side and on that and in the middle, to haul on the rope that was fastened to the bank of the river, lest the boats that were fastened to the cable, should strike upon the rocks and be wrecked. And when the bridge attached to this cable came to the other side, [the waters] first dashed with violence against the skins, and upon those skins the violence stopped and subsided. Thus by his cunning and skill he constructed the bridge. And he commanded the troops to pass over.

"And when we had passed the river and had made a two days' march, I saw a river copious and abundant in its flow; and it had many country-towns with palaces about them. And the people of that country were fair-minded; and their land was abundant in its products, and corn and fruits were plenty. And I commanded the phalanx to repose in that locality; and we remained in our position five months. And I ordered a great city to be built there. And, on account of the beauty and desirableness of the country, I commanded that it should be called by two names. And to a part of the city I gave the name of Cūsh; which is interpreted in Persian, Behlee. And within the city, I ordered the erection of two temples; one temple to Zeus, and the other to Zaa. And I ordered them to be built with mortar and stones, and at a large expenditure. And I ordered a statue of myself and another statue of my friend Aidmalos, to be made of brass, and be set up in those temples. And on account of the beauty and pleasantness of the country, some of the Grecian soldiers that were with me, were desirous of abiding in that country. And I directed five hundred men to remain and dwell in it, and especially on account of the magnificence of those temples. And I commanded sacrifices and a great festival to be celebrated.

"And we decamped from there, and came to a river: and on the bank of that river I commanded the phalanx to encamp: and we rested in that place five days. And when I gave orders to decamp from there by night, Pariooq came against us, all prepared with his troop. And my soldiers

had let loose their horses and cattle to feed in the meadow on the bank of the river. And Parioog and his band stole all these horses and cattle, and went into the woods, driving them away from the bank of the river. And when I heard these things, I led forth troops of guards and troops of Macedonians. And on that day we examined the river, and the horse-tracks on the bank of the river, and then pursued after Parioog. And we proceeded a day's march after him, but did not overtake him. Then I vowed and made supplication to the god Amoon, that, if we overtook Parioog and his band, in the place where I should come upon him I would build a city to his name, Amoon, and in it would erect a temple to him. And then, after travelling five miles, the ground was covered by water, and the tracks of the horses were not discernible. And I directed to search around the waters, and in the woods, for tracks of horses. And when they searched, they found no tracks of horses there. But I knew that the god Amoon would come to our aid. And I directed fire to be set around this wood, so that Parioog and his band could not endure the heat from the flames of the fire: whereupon they all forsook the wood. And my valiant troops fought with Parioog, and slew him. So Parioog died; and of his band there died, by the conflagration and by the hands of my soldiers, two hundred and seventy men; and a thousand and three hundred more were made captives. And we recovered all our horses and cattle. And our whole camp reposed there. And as for all those standing waters, I commanded them to bring earth, and to fill up the place in which these waters were, and build a city thereupon, and erect within the city a temple to the god Amoon. We were in that place four months. And when the city and the temple were completed, I commanded people to be brought from various parts to dwell in it; and I gave it the name of Mergeeos, that is, Lordship. In that place I offered sacrifice to the god Amoon."

Extract IV.—Syr. pp. 329–357.—The subjoined specimen has already been mentioned, as not forming a part of the Life of Alexander, but as rather an appendix derived from another source. It contains perhaps the most curious version, to be found any where, of the singular story how

Alexander walled up a number of impure nations within the northern mountains. This story appears for the first time in the Koran (Surah xviii.), and may have been borrowed in part from some apocryphal Jewish or Christian writing suggested by Ezekiel, Chapters xxxviii., xxxix., and by Revelations, Chapter xx. It runs as follows in Sale's translation.

"The Jews will ask thee concerning Dhu'lkarnein. Answer, I will rehearse unto you an account of him. We made him powerful in the earth, and we gave him means to *accomplish* every thing *he pleased*. And he followed *his* way, until he came to the place where the sun setteth; *and* he found it to set in a spring of black mud; and he found near the same a certain people. And we said, O Dhu'lkarnein, either punish *this people*, or use gentleness towards them. He answered, Whosoever of them shall commit injustice, we will surely punish him *in this world*; afterwards shall he return unto his Lord, and he shall punish him with a severe punishment. But whosoever believeth, and doth that which is right, shall receive the most excellent reward, and we will give him in command that which is easy. Then he continued *his* way, until he came to the place where the sun riseth; *and* he found it to rise on certain people unto whom we had not given any thing wherewith to shelter themselves therefrom. Thus *it was*; and we comprehended with our knowledge the *forces* which were with him. And he prosecuted *his* journey *from south to north*, until he came between the two mountains; beneath which he found certain people who could scarce understand what was said. *And* they said, O Dhu'lkarnein, verily Gog and Magog waste the land; shall we therefore pay thee tribute, on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them? He answered, The *power* wherewith my Lord has strengthened me is better *than your tribute*: but assist me strenuously, and I will set a strong wall between you and them. Bring me iron in large pieces until it fill up *the space* between the two sides of *these mountains*. *And* he said to the workmen, Blow with your bellows, until it make the iron red hot as fire. *And* he said further, Bring me molten brass, that I may pour upon it. Wherefore, *when this wall was finished*, Gog and Magog could not scale it, neither could they dig through it. *And* Dhu'lkarnein said, This *is* a mercy from my Lord: but when the prediction of my Lord shall come to be fulfilled, he shall reduce *the wall* to dust; and the prediction of my Lord is true."

On Dhulkarnein, Beidhâwy's note is as follows: "That is, Iskander the Great, king of Fârs and Rûm, or, as is also

said, of the East and West; and it was on that account he was called Dhulkarnein [of the two horns], or because he grasped the two extremities of the world, its East and its West, or, as is also said, because two ages of men were ended in his days, or, as is also said, because he had two horns, that is, two ringlets, or, as is also said, because there were two horns to his throne; and it is maintained that he was so called on account of his pugnacity, just as the pugnacious person is called a ram, as if he butted his fellows."*

Spiegel, in the little work already cited, decides that Dhulkarnein was a mythic conqueror of early Arab tradition, who has been blended with Alexander the Great.

The MS. B. of Pseudo-Callisthenes has preserved a form of this story, which has perhaps the next claim in point of antiquity to that in the Koran. The style of this passage shows, I think, as well as the matter, that it is borrowed from some Jewish or Judæo-Christian source. A nearly literal translation of it here follows. "Moreover I found there [Alexander writes to his mother] many nations eating the flesh of men and drinking the blood of animals like water; for their dead they do not bury but devour. On seeing such most vile nations, I feared lest by this kind of food, they would defile the earth with their wicked defilements, and prayed to the Providence above, and waxed strong against them, and slew the most of them with the edge of the sword, and subjugated their country. And fear took hold of them on every side, from the greatest of them to the least. For when they heard that Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, was coming hither, they said: "He will slay us all with the sword, and wishes to lay waste our cities and to rule over us." And so, being turned to flight, they pursued one another, and so nation fought against nation among them, and they were hurried into flight (*ἐσαλεύοντο εἰς φυγὴν*). Their kings are twenty and two; and I pursued from behind, until they fortified themselves (*ἐνισχυσαν*) within the two great mountains, the names of which are the Paps of the North; and there is no ingress or egress other than by those great mountains, for they exceed in height the clouds of heaven; and these mountains are

* For this extract from Beidhawy's commentary I am indebted to Prof. Salisbury.

stretched out like two walls on the right and left towards the North, as far as to the great sea that lies under the Bear and the place of darkness.* And I devised various devices that they might have no exit from the place where they were made to enter within the mountains. The entrance between the great mountains is forty-six royal cubits wide. Again therefore I prayed earnestly to the Providence on high with all my heart, and it heard my supplication. And the Providence on high commanded the two mountains, and they were shaken, and shifted their position as if vying with one another, each twelve cubits [approached twenty-four cubits nearer to one another]. And there I made brazen gates of twenty-two cubits in breadth, and in height of sixty cubits, securely, and smeared these same gates with *ἀσπίον*† inside and outside, that neither fire nor iron, nor any contrivance whatsoever, might be able to force open the gates; for the fire, when brought to them is extinguished, and iron is broken in pieces. And outside of these most formidable gates I set up another structure of rock-stone, each stone eleven cubits broad, twenty high and sixty thick. And this structure thus made I shut up [made an enclosure of it], having poured tin with lead into the stones, and smeared and daubed the said structure with the *ἀσπίτιον*, in order that nothing might have power to control the said gates, to which I gave the name of the Caspian. Twenty-two kings I shut in there *εἰς ὀκτακόσια ἔτη καθ' ἑν.*‡ And the names of the nations are Magog, Kynekephali, Nūni, Phonokerati, Syriasori, Iones, Katamorgori, Himantopodes, Kampanes, Samandres, Hippyres, Epanibori. And I cleansed the parts of the North of these impious ones, having enclosed also two other very large walls, the one on the East one hundred and twenty cubits [long], and the one on the West ninety, and twenty-four cubits broad [i. e. walls, if I see into the meaning, which united the other two before mentioned].”

* In the original, *ὡς τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης τῆς ὑπὸ ἄνσον καὶ τὸν σκοτεινὸν τόπον*. I conjecture *ἀρπτον* for the unmeaning word *ἀνδον*.

† For this corrupt word, which appears in several forms in B. and C., Müller has no emendation.

‡ Müller observes on this: “*excidiisse aliqua videntur*.” The text (which was perhaps *τριάκοντα ἔτη*), must have reference to the more than eight hundred years during which these nations would be shut up within this wall. Compare the extract from the Syriac translation towards the end.

The MS. C. gives substantially the same account. Alexander, on seeing the narrow path through the mountains, prays to God that they might come nearer together. His prayer is Jewish or Christian: "God of gods and lord of all the creation, who by thy word didst make all things, both heaven and earth and sea; nothing is impossible for thee, for, like slaves, all things obey thy will. For thou spakest and they were created, thou commandedst and they were brought forth. Thou alone art eternal, without beginning, the invisible God, and there is no one besides thee. For in thy name and by thy will I have done what thou didst desire, and thou gavest all the world into my hand. I beg thy much praised name to fulfill my request, and be thou willing that these two mountains may come together, as I asked thee, and overlook not me, the miserable one, who have trusted in thee." C. adds to B.'s account that Alexander planted brambles within the walls. He gives the names of sixteen nations, beginning with *Γῶθ* and *Μαγῶθ*.

This singular fable entered into the Persian accounts of Iskander. I subjoin here, from Spiegel's work, an abstract of Firdosi's version of it, and a passage from Mohl's translation of the *Mojmel-ut-Tewârich*.

After Alexander, according to Firdosi, had returned from the regions of darkness, he allowed his army a short rest, and then went eastward in order to see the wonders of the world in that direction. He came to a town, the inhabitants of which informed him that Yâjuj and Mâjuj resided in that region, and that they would be thankful if he would free them from these neighbors. Yâjuj and Mâjuj are described as monsters who sleep in their own ears. To protect their town Alexander builds a wall which it is impossible for the demons to scale.

Mohl's abstract of the story in the *Mojmel-ut-Tewârich*, is as follows :

"Après la guerre contre Darab, Secander parcourut l'Occident d'un bout à l'autre jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât à l'endroit où le soleil se couche, comme le prouve un verset du Koran. Ensuite il fit bâtir la muraille de Yadjoudj et de Madjoudj; on la fit en briques de fer, entre lesquelles on plaça du plomb, du cuivre et un mélange (d'autres métaux), de la manière que les architectes du Roum savent le faire; ensuite on y appliqua le feu, jusqu'à ce que tout fonda et formât une masse solide. Cet événement est attesté par la parole de Dieu dans

la sourate de la Caverne (Sur. XVIII. 95). Alexandre fit placer sur cette muraille lorsqu'elle fût achevée, l'inscription suivante : ' Au nom de Dieu, le glorieux, le sublime ! Cette muraille a été bâtie à l'aide de Dieu, et elle durera ce que voudra Dieu. Mais lorsque huit cent et soixante ans du dernier millier seront passés, cette muraille se fendra dans le temps des grands péchés et crimes (du monde) et de la rupture des liens du sang et de l'endurcissement des coeurs, et il sortira de cette muraille une multitude d'hommes de ce peuple telle que Dieu seul en saura le nombre. Ils atteindront le coucher du soleil et ils dévoreront tout ce qu'ils trouveront de nourriture et de fruits jusqu'à ce qu'ils se jettent sur l'herbe sèche et les feuilles des arbres. Ils épuiseront toutes les rivières, qu'ils traverseront, de manière à n'y pas laisser une seule bouchée d'eau. Quand ils auront atteint le pays de Sabous, ils périront tous jusqu'au dernier selon l'ordre de Dieu.' "

This passage, it will be seen, contains a part of the same apocryphal chronology which the Syriac appendix exhibits more fully.

The French romancer (pp. 300, 312) makes Gos and Margos, or Got and Margot, allies of Porus. In one passage he says that *Porrus* summoned all his men in Bactria ("en Bautilre"), and all the orientals, so that none staid away. The people of the deserts were there from as far as the bounds of Arcus ["dusc'à bones [or bosnes] Arcus," to the pillars of Hercules].* Gos and Margos came thither from the land of the Turks, bringing with them four hundred thousand men and more. They swore by the sea which has *Netnus* for its sire, and by hell's gate which *Celebrus* guards, that they would turn backward Alexander's pride. For this he shut them up afterwards: until the time of Antichrist none of them shall ever issue forth.

In the other passage (p. 312), after mentioning the defeat and flight of Got and Margot, he goes on to say that Alexander pursued them with all speed, bathing his horse in their blood. Some escaped within the defile. "The king stopped there and had a cement made of lime and mortar, better than which was never seen. Straight to the foot of the mountains the king caused it to be carried. It was made so tight that nothing could undo it."

* The same expression occurs on page 3 of the French romance. The word Arcus, Arcu, has caused the French litterateurs some trouble, but M. Talbot shows that it is for Ercole.

The English Kyng Alisaunder is much fuller, and derives its materials from another source.* Alexander having persuaded his barons to go with him upon an expedition for sight-seeing and war,

“Over dales and over cleven
 To Taracounte per force they dryven,
 Theo maister that ther was
 Of all the lond of Magogas. 5
 Theo wayes weore so strayte and fyle,
 That mon no hors, by twenty myle,
 No myghte come the toun nigh,
 To greven or to don anoye :
 And they al day his folk to-drowe,
 Soken heore blod, heore flesch to-gnowe. 10
 That ilke men of that lond
 Were blak so cole brond ;
 And teth haden yolowe as wax ;
 Every toth as a boris toxe.
 Rowgh they weore so a beore, 15
 They were mowthed so a mare.
 Evetis and snakes and paddokes brode
 That heom thoughte mete gode.
 Al vernyn they eteth,
 Bestes, men, al quyk they freteth. 20
 Everich of heom lyth by othir,
 Sone by modur, and suster by brother.
 So comyn they buth, y-wis,
 Non n'ot who his fadir is.
 Al that nacioun of that lond 25
 Weore fallen to heore hand.
 Two and twenty kyngs fram Gog,
 All what thon come to Magog.
 No man telle no myghte
 Of heore folk, bote our dryght.”† 30

The king, unable to reach them in battle, and foreseeing what mischief they would do to the nations of the “myd-delerd,” whom they would “to-frete” [chew to pieces] with

* Weber's Metrical Romances, vol. i. pp. 252-258. Comp. p. 246.

† Some explanations may not be unsuitable. V. 1. *cleven*, cliffs. 5. *fyle*, vile or foul. 9. 10. *to-drowe*, *to-gnowe*, tore, gnawed to pieces. 12. 15. *so*, as. 14. *toxe*, tusk. 17. *evetis*, efts. 18. This seemed to them good food. 20. They devour every thing living. 23. So promiscuous are they that none know, etc. 29. 30. No man could count their people save our Lord.

their teeth, bethought himself to deliver mankind, by some device, of these foul "unwreste wyghtis" [base wights]. Taking his barons he goes to a hill, and there "on Sarsynes wyse" [in Saracen fashion] made sacrifice, and prayed until counsel came from heaven how he should destroy them.

There is an island called Meopante between Egypt and Inde, where a people live who make a very tenacious kind of bitumen ["botemay"]

"That no water, salt no cler [fresh],
Heom to drye hath no power."

Alexander made alliance with them, and even went with their king under the flood, where he saw the fishes devouring one another, and other wonders of the ocean. In the MS. C. of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the visit of Alexander to the depths of the sea in a kind of diving-bell is narrated more at large.

Alexander staid there more than half a year, provided himself with vast quantities of their clay or bitumen, and on returning gives battle a number of times to his foes. He shuts the wild nations in, both by land and by sea. He stopped the sea of Calpias [the Caspian], through which they were wont to invade other nations in piratical excursions, by building a mole or wall with pillars of metal, a hundred feet long, so firmly consolidated that no ship could pass out until doomsday. Upon the land he stopped the pass that goes from Taracounte* to Calpias. For there was no other way but over a mountain sky-high.

"No comuth they thennes ay,
Til hit come to domesday.
Antecrist shall come thanne,
And cheose him so feole man,
And schal falle, thorough blanis myght, 5
Al Alisaunder's werk dounryght;
And alle theose out with him lede,
Al the world to much quele.
For tho that n'ul his men beon
With heore teth heo wolith to-teren."† 10

This legend appears to have been quite popular in the middle ages. In the German poem of Titirel, as we learn

* Derbend?

† 5. And shall throw down by sorcery? 8. To the great damage of the world. 9. n'ul, will not. 10. to-teren, tear to pieces.

from Weber, the people enclosed are called the Red Jews, and the mountains are as high as the rainbow. In the German story of Apollonius of Tyre, the nations are Gog, Magog and Kolek (the Colchi). Sir John Maundeville calls them "the Jews of the ix kyndes, that men call Gog and Magog." At the time of Antichrist, they shall "comon out and do mochyll harme to Cristenmen." The passage out shall be disclosed to them by a fox which shall come and make his den under the gates of Alexander: these people chasing the fox shall find his hole, and shall "grave after him tyll they com to the yates that kyng Alysaunder dyde make of great stonys well dight with symend." Giovanni of Florence, also, considers these nations to be the ten tribes of Israel who have been converted into Tartars by their place of residence, while Pseudo-Gorionides, probably a French Jew of century xi. who wrote a history of the Jews in Hebrew, calls them Alans.*

The subjoined version of the same story is more remarkable than any other which we know of, and in its fervid style, so unlike the flat biography of Alexander preceding it, reveals its eastern origin.

"Again: the heroism of Alexander, son of Philipp, the Macedonian; how he advanced to the border of the world, and made a gate of iron, and shut up the northern side, that the Heceenoi [brave men?] might not come forth and sack the countries. Behold, it is found written in the archives of Alexandria.

"In the second year, i. e. the seventh of the reign of Alexander, he placed the crown on his head and clothed himself in royal robes, and sent and called the imposers of the crown, and the soldiers, and Preeceus, and the marshals, and all the troops, and addressed them, saying: 'Hear, all of you, sons of the army.' They said to him: 'Say on, wise king, king of the Greeks—whatever you command us, shall take place.' He said to them: 'This thought hath occurred to me. Wonder seized me, as to how broad is the earth, and how much is the height of heaven. And how many are the countries of kings, my compeers; and on what the heavens are placed: whether darkness and wind hold them up: or

* See Weissmann's *Pfaffe Lamprecht*, ii. 503.

pillars of fire go up from the earth and sustain the heavens, so that they may not come in contact with any thing ; or whether they are suspended by the will of God, and will not fall. This I wish to go and see, on what the heavens are placed, what surrounds the whole earth.'

"The nobles answered the king, saying: 'Command us that we may speak.' And he ordered them, and they spoke and said to him: 'Respecting the matter that your Highness and Majesty would go and see on what the heavens are supported, and what surrounds the earth, the terrible seas that surround the earth will not afford a road; for there are eleven seas full of light, among which the ships of men are accustomed to pass; and between them there is dry land, about ten miles; beyond that ten miles is an evil sea, Okeanos, which surrounds all the earth; and men can not approach that evil sea; and vessels can not enter it; nor can birds fly over it. If a bird fly over it, it is arrested and falls and drowns in it. The water resembles an expanse. If men bathe in it, they suddenly expire; and the leaves of trees near it are scorched from the smell of the water, as though fire had blazed upon them.' The nobles said these things to Alexander.

"He said to them: 'Have you been on your feet and seen that sea?' They said: 'Yes, wise king; the same thing your Majesty conceives, we also conceived. We went that we might behold on what the heavens are supported; but the evil sea gave us no passage.'

"Alexander said to them: 'I do not regard you as liars; but though you went, and the sea did not yield you a path, that you might pass, still I will go and see all the borders of the heavens; and if there is a king who has more territory, I will take his realm, and slay him; or whether there is any corner from which robbers issue forth.'

"And all the troops accepted the things which Alexander spake. And they blew trumpets in Alexandria, and the army was numbered that went forth with him, three hundred and twenty thousand men. And Alexander the king bowed and worshipped, saying: 'O God, thou Lord of kings and judges, who settest up kings and dissolvest their power, I have perceived in my mind that thou wilt magnify me above all kings, and hast added unto me horns on my head that I may pierce with them the kings of the earth, and

that I may take away the great power of the kings of the earth, and cast them down. I will magnify thy name, O Lord, forever—and may thy memory continue forever and ever! And I will write thy name, O God, in the book of my kingdom, that there may be unto thee a remembrance in all times. If the Messiah cometh in my days, who is the Son of God, I will worship Him—I and my armies. And if he does not come in my days, when I go forth and conquer kings and take their countries, this throne on which I sit, which is a *kathedra* of silver, I will carry and place in Jerusalem, that when the Messiah cometh from heaven he may sit on this throne of my kingdom; for his kingdom will endure forever. And let there be seven hundred drachms of gold for the honor of Christ before him, when he cometh. And if I die in some corner of the world, or if here in Alexandria, let the crown of my kingdom be suspended over the throne which I have given to Christ. And every king who shall die in Alexandria—let his crown be taken and suspended over that golden throne which I bequeath to Christ.’

“And they went forth and proceeded to Mount Sinai, and encamped on it. And they launched vessels on the sea, and went to Egypt. And the troops went up to see whether sea or waves appeared in sight or not. And the generals answered and said: ‘King Alexander, without smiths the army can not proceed. Command therefore that such may go with us from Egypt; for there are none on the face of the earth like the smiths of Egypt.’

“And Alexander called Sernacos, king of Egypt, and said to him: ‘Furnish me seven thousand smiths, workers in brass and iron, that they may go with us; and when I return from the lands to which I go, if they desire it, I will send them hither; or I will give them some territory of my kingdom, and they need not pay taxes to the king, but let them furnish subsidies.’

“And Sernacos, king of Egypt, chose seven thousand workers of brass and iron, and presented them to Alexander; and they ate bread together. And they launched their ships on the sea, and sailed on the sea four months and twelve days, and reached dry land, which is beyond the eleven light seas; and Alexander and his troops landed. And he sent and called the ruler of the camp, and said to him: ‘Is there a man that deserves to die?’ They said to him:

'We have thirty-seven men whom we have bound, who deserve death.' And the king said to the ruler: 'Bring the malefactors,' and they brought them. And the king commanded them, saying: 'Go to the evil sea, and drive down stakes that the ships may be made fast; and make ready every thing necessary for a sea-voyage. And the men proceeded and came to the edge of the sea. And Alexander thought that, if the thing were true which they had told, that all who approached the evil sea would die, then those men must die. And as they advanced and reached the edge of the sea, they immediately died. Alexander and his camp saw that they died; for he and the chief men were riding out to see what would befall them. And they saw that they died just as soon as they reached the sea; and king Alexander feared and turned back. And he knew that they could not cross over to the border of the heavens. And the whole camp rode, Alexander and his troops, between the evil sea and the light sea, even to the place where the sun enters a window of heaven; for the sun is the servant of the Lord. Neither by night nor by day does he cease from his going. And at the point of his rising, he rises on the sea. And the men who dwell there, when he rises, abscond and hide themselves in the sea, that they may not be scorched by his rays. And he passes through the midst of the heavens, till he arrives at the point where he enters a window of heaven. And where he enters, there are fearful craggs; and those who dwell there have caves, cut in the precipices; and when they see the sun setting, they run away from before him, both men and birds, and conceal themselves in the caves; for the rocks crumble down before the flames of the sun, and descend; and if they touch beasts or men, they are burned. And when the sun enters the window of heaven, it bows and worships God its Maker. It goes forth and descends all night still in the heavens, and still proceeds and finds itself at the place where it rises.

"And Alexander saw the place of the sun's setting. And he found a declining mountain, the name of which was Moses. And they proceeded down it and ate bread there. And they descended to the source of the Euphrates, and discovered it issuing forth from a cave. And they came to Haloorus, from which the Tigris issues like a mill-stream. And they went forth from thence and proceeded to the river Klat.

And they ascended a mountain that is called Ramat. There was a garrison. And Alexander and his troops stood on the top of a mountain, and saw the four winds [quarters] of heaven; and Alexander said: 'Let us go toward the North.' And they came northward, and entered Armenia and Azerbaijan, and Middle Armenia. And they entered the land of Tornageus, and went through the country of Perdeea, and through the country of Tkeel, and the land of Roobalee; and through the land of Kantarman, and through Goowal, and Zamrat: these countries Alexander crossed, and went on and passed through the valley of Moses; and crossed the plain called Bahelipta, and went and encamped at the door of a great mountain. And there was in it a way by which merchants passed into the regions within. And Alexander sent heralds of peace, even riders proclaiming peace; and they went about and made proclamation through all the land: 'The king of the Grecks hath come to this country. He will not kill, he will not destroy, he will not overturn, but let every man dwell in quiet. "Let three hundred men, however, be chosen, aged in years, and pass before me," saith king Alexander, "that I may learn of them what I need."' "

"And when the men of the country heard the heralds of peace make proclamation, they no longer feared. They selected three hundred men, who went to Alexander, while he was encamped in the country. And he commanded that the people should not flee before him. And when the aged men of the country went in before him, he inquired of the men to whom they belonged? 'And to whom do you pay taxes? Who is the king that rules over this country?' The old men answered and said to the king: 'This country belongs to Tobar, the king of the Persians, who is of the lineage of Ahashuerus; and to him we give gold.' He said to them: 'How much does this mountain descend in this way?' They said to him: 'This mountain proceeds thus, without any pass, and enters the sea of the Kotrai, and still goes on and has its termination by upper Persia and Hindostan. And from this road upward, this mountain proceeds to a great river, on this side of the sea. And there are small paths there. If a man ride not on horse-back, he can not pass there. And men who go into them without jingling bells, can not enter; for beasts ascend from the sea and river,

and come down from the mountains, and crouch in the way; and if people come to pass on in them, they are immediately slain.'

"Alexander said: 'This mountain is higher and more fearful than all the mountains I have beheld.' The aged citizens of the country said to the king: 'Your Majesty, O king, our master, neither we nor our fathers can step up it one step. Neither from that side can men ascend it, nor from this side. It is the boundary which God has placed between us and the people beyond.' Alexander said: 'Who are the people beyond this mountain which we behold?' They said: 'The natives are Heveenai.' He said to them: 'Who are their kings?' The men said: 'Gog and Magog and Nabal, kings, the sons of Japheth; and king Geeg, and Theamron, and Theyamron, and Baetgamly, and Yapobar, and Shomardak, and Glooseeka, and Akshaphar, and Selgaddoo, and Nisleek, and Amerpeel, and Kaoza—these are the kings of the Heveenai.'

"Alexander said to them: 'What is their appearance, dress and language?' The old men answered and said to the king: 'There are some of them whose eyes are blue; and their wives have one breast. The women fight more than the men. They wound men with knives. On their thighs, and on their necks and hands, are suspended knives. If one of them has occasion to fight, wherever she extends her hand, there is a knife. They wear tanned skins. They eat the raw flesh of whatever dies; and they drink the blood of men and animals. They can not war against cities and fortresses; but they run into the roads and about the gates of cities; they surround men who run abroad. They are swifter than the wind that blows. Ere they are heard of, they have gone forth to war and arrive at the place, because they practice witchcraft. They run between the heavens and the earth. Their chariots and swords and spears glisten like fearful lightnings. They take shields in their hands. Each one has two or three horses. Five or six men go before and behind each one. The sound of the wailing of one of them is more terrible than the roaring of a lion. God hath delivered over the nations into the hands of one another. The terror of the Heveenai is dreadful to all nations who see them; for they are not possessed of human kindness. When they go out to war, they bring forth a pregnant woman, and

kindle a fire and bind her before the fire; and roast the child within her; and her body bursts; and the child comes out blistered. They place it in a kneeding tray, and pour water on its body, and its body melts in the water. They take their swords and bows and arrows and darts, and dip them in that water. It appears as though there were with each one a hundred thousand horsemen; and every hundred men seem to have a camp of a hundred thousand devils standing by; for their sorceries are more than in all other lands.' 'Moreover, master,' said the old men to Alexander, 'we also make this known to your Majesty: if the anger of God rise not, and slay the fathers with the children, and smite the earth with wrath, the Heveenai do not go forth for plunder; for they are more invincible than all kings in battle.'

"Alexander said to the citizens of the land: 'Have they ever gone forth to plunder, in your day?' The old men answered and said to the king: 'Your kingdom, our lord king, and your crown, may God establish! These forts that are overturned in our country, and in the lands of the Romans, they overturned. And these towers they razed. When they go forth to plunder, they strip the countries of the Romans and of the Persians, and then again pass away to their own country.'

"Alexander said to them: 'Who are the nations that are beyond them?' The old men said: 'The Baet Amardat—the Kleeб-varnasha [Dog-men]. And beyond the Dog-men, the nation of Mneenee.'

"'There are no more men, but fearful mountains, and hills, and valleys, and frightful cliffs and caves, in which are serpents, asps and vipers; and men do not go there, lest the serpents should instantly devour them. For the lands are desolate, and there is nothing there besides desert. And beyond all the mountains there appears the paradise of God in the distance; for paradise is neither near the heavens nor the earth; as a city, beautiful and strong, it appears as though between the heavens and the earth. Clouds and darkness that are round about it, appear from a distance. And the horns [corners] of the northern quarter are supported upon it.'

"Alexander said to them: 'How do the four rivers go forth?' The aged men answered: 'Master, we make known

to your Majesty, that God caused four rivers to proceed from the paradise of God; but God knowing that men would presume, and obstruct the rivers, and pass through them, he drew the rivers away from the land, and brought them among valleys and mountains and plains; and brought them into many mountains. Some of them he caused to flow from mountains, and some of them to issue from caves. And he surrounded the garden of Eden with seas, and rivers, and the ocean, and the evil sea, that men may not approach paradise—that they may not see how the rivers take their rise, but behold them in their issues from the mountains or in the valleys.’

“Alexander, having heard what the aged men said, marvelled much respecting the great sea that surrounds all the world. Alexander said to his armies: ‘Desire ye to do something wonderful in this country?’ They said to him: ‘As your Majesty commands.’ The king said: ‘Let us construct a brazen gate and close up this mountain-pass.’ The troops said: ‘As your Majesty orders, so be it.’ Alexander ordered, and they brought three thousand smiths, workers in iron, and three thousand workers in brass; and they cast iron and brass as a man would work mud. And they brought it and constructed a gate—its length twelve cubits, its width eight cubits. And he constructed the lower sill of the door from mountain to mountain, twelve cubits, and spiked it to the cliff of the mountain. And he fastened in it two bars of iron, each bar of twelve cubits. And he constructed two bars of iron, from cliff to cliff, behind the door, and fastened the ends of the bars in the cliffs. He made fast the gate and the bars. And he cut iron spikes and drove them together, that if the Heveenai should come and break away the cliff beneath the iron sill, though a footman should pass, a horseman might not, so long as the gate should stand, made firm by the bars. He bored the lower sill, as a threshold of the door, and drove therein bolts of iron. He turned it in, like the gate of Shooshan behind the Medes. Men brought and worked iron and brass, and fitted the gate and its frame together, as one would smooth mortar. And he fastened iron spikes in the cliff, and nailed the iron key which had twelve notches. And he encompassed it with brazen chains. Behold, it is hung and made firm.

“And Alexander, moreover, wrote on that gate, that the Heveenai will go forth and subject the land of the Romans and the Persians, hurling darts from chariots, and then will return and enter their own realm. Again: ‘I wrote that, after eight hundred and twenty-six years, the Heveenai will go forth in a small path that issues in front of Halorus, from whence the Tigris takes its rise, like the stream that works a mill. They will sack nations, and intercept roads, and terrify the earth by their issuing forth.’ Again: ‘I wrote, made known, and prophesied, that it would come to pass, that after nine hundred and forty years there would be another king, when the world should come to an end, by the command of God,’ the Ruler of the universe. The realms will provoke God to anger, sin will abound, wrath will rule, the iniquities of men will rise and eclipse the heavens, and the Lord will come in his fierce anger; and the kingdoms lying beyond this gate—when the Lord wills to destroy the sons of men, and send men upon men to destroy one another, the Lord will assemble kings and their armies that are beyond the mountain. By his nod he will gather them all together, and they will come; with their spears and swords they will stand behind this gate; they will look toward the heavens and call on the name of the Lord: ‘O Lord, open for us this gate;’ and the Lord will send his power from heaven, and an echo shall ring on this gate, and will destroy the gate, and it will be cast down by the power of the Lord. It will not be opened by the key I have made. And an army will go forth by this gate which I have made, and wear off from the sill of iron a hand-breadth, by the hoofs of horses and beasts that will come forth to destroy the earth by the command of the Lord. And from the lintel shall be worn off half a hand-breadth by the points of the spears that running pass out of it. When the Heveenai go forth according to the command of God, the kingdoms shall come forth from the borders of heaven, the Heveenai, the Persians and the Arabs—twenty-four kingdoms that are recorded in this book. The kingdoms shall fall upon each other, and the earth shall rot in the blood and filth of men. The kingdom of Greece shall be clad in pomp, and come forth, and take a hammer of iron in its right hand, and a hammer of brass in its left hand, and as iron melts in the fire, and brass boils in the

flames, so shall the armies of the kingdoms melt before the kingdom of Greece; and the kingdoms of the Heveenai, and the Persians, one by one. And a few of them will escape and flee to their own country; and the rest the kingdom of Greece will destroy. And my kingdom shall go forth, called the kingdom of Alexander, son of Philipp, the Macedonian, and destroy the land on the borders of heaven, and there shall not be found people or kingdoms dwelling on the earth that shall stand before the kingdom of the Greeks. Behold, I have written and made known, even I, by my own hand-writing; verily, I have not stated falsehood in what I have written. Perhaps nations and countries will not believe me, that what I have written shall come to pass. If you will not receive my words, receive those of Jeremiah, who by prophecy signified before-hand concerning that kingdom. Thus saith he, in his book: "From the North, evil shall be opened on all the dwellers of the earth." Behold, I have a sign wrought by God. Among the cliffs, beyond this gate, where a thin cliff rises, there is suspended a sponge filled with blood, and the Heveenai shall come and wash their heads in it and then return. This testimony was placed there by God, that men might behold it and fear—that as the blood descends from the sponge, so shall the blood of men be poured out on the mountains and hills.'

"Alexander and his army marvelled at the gate they had made. Then the people of the land went down and told Tuberlak, the king of the Persians, and said to him: 'There hath come hither Alexander, son of Philipp, the Macedonian, and he hath constructed a gate of iron before the Heveenai. Rise, take your army and go and slay him, and seize what belongs to you.' And Tuberlak rose up, and sent to Moshashree, the king of Farther India, and to Barseedak, king of Greece; and he sent to Armenia, and to all the countries that regarded him, and hired and bought eighty-two kings and their armies, one hundred and thirteen myriads. And all the kings and their armies took counsel with Tuberlak, that they would come. It was the season of summer, and the camp of Alexander were lying down to rest, and the king himself was lying down, and behold the Lord came to Alexander and saw him asleep, and he called to him and said: 'Rise up there.' And the king arose and kneeled down and worshipped the Lord. The Lord said:

‘Behold, I have magnified you above all kingdoms. And I have raised up horns of iron on your head, that with them you may gore the kingdoms of the earth. You placed your confidence in me, when you went forth to war, to visit other realms. Now, behold, many kings and armies are coming upon you, to slay you; call upon me and I will come and help you. For I am the Lord who helpeth all that call upon me.’ And the Lord departed from Alexander.

“And the king waked his troops and said to them: ‘Behold, ravagers are coming upon us. Let the watchmen go up to the mountain-top and behold and see; for the Lord hath appeared unto me this hour.’ And the watchmen went up and saw the troops and their kings, even a world without bounds. And they ran and told the king: ‘O king, we die, unless God, who knows their number, should destroy them.’

“Then Alexander gave orders that the troops of his camp should be numbered, to see how many were dead and how many alive. And his camp was numbered, and there were found in it three hundred and sixteen thousand; four thousand were dead: for when they went forth from Alexandria, they were three hundred and twenty thousand men. And Alexander commanded the men of his army, all who had authority in it, that every man should construct an altar of incense to the Lord, on pieces of earthen ware and stones, ‘that the Lord may come and help us, and may come and behold the army, its sweet savor from the smoke of the incense.’ And Alexander took his crown and purple, and placed them before the Lord and said: ‘Thou, Lord, hast power over my life and over my kingdom. Do thou deliver thy servant and his army from their enemies.’

“While Alexander was praying, the kings and their armies were marshalling. And Alexander answered and said: ‘The victory is the Lord’s.’ And the camp cried out and said: ‘O God, come thou to our aid.’ And Alexander said: ‘O Lord, who hast appeared unto me in this land, succor us.’ And the Lord appeared, coming on a chariot of seraphim, and angels and cherubim coming before him shouted; and he stationed his host over the camp of Alexander. And the Lord appeared standing on the West. And all the camp of Alexander looked toward the Lord; and the Lord succored the camp, and the people prevailed to whose help

the Lord came. And there arose a terrific fight, while the people shouted: 'This is the battle of the Lord, who hath come and descended in the midst of us.'

"Moreover, the Lord appeared to Alexander and said unto him: 'Do not be afraid of kings and their hosts; for I am with you.' And the voice of the Lord went thundering along among them, till the kings and their armies quaked before the camp of God. And Alexander and his army slew sixty kings and their hosts. Those who fled, fled; those who were scattered, were scattered. And Alexander took Tuberlak, king of Persia, but did not slay him. And Alexander and his hosts arose and bound Tuberlak, king of Persia, and the chiefs of all Persia. And Tuberlak brought forth gold and silver, and crystals and gems, and beautiful stones of jasper, and delivered them to king Alexander. And Alexander subdued all Persia, even to the Black Sea. And he was inclined to slay Tuberlak. But Tuberlak said to him: 'What profit will you realize, if you slay me? Take the gold I possess, and I will place Persia in pledge to you. Let it pay you gold fifteen years. And then, after fifteen years, let Babylon and Assyria be independent.'

"Tuberlak and Alexander sat down and took counsel together, and said: 'Concerning the gate which is at the North, constructed of iron and brass, let sixty men go from the Greeks, and sixty men from the Persians, and guard it, each one eating and drinking from provision furnished by the king.'

"And Tuberlak, king of Persia, brought forth sorcerers and magicians and astrologers, fire and water, and all his gods, and divined by them; and they made known to him, that at the end of the world the kingdom of the Greeks should go forth and subdue all the earth, and the king of Persia, who should be found in the country, would be slain; and Babylon and Assyria would be destroyed, according to the commandment of God. Thus divined Tuberlak, king of Persia, and gave his hand-writing to king Alexander. And in the writing, the thing that was to happen in regard to Persia agreed with Alexander; for the king and the chiefs prophesied that Persia would be destroyed by the hands of the Greeks, and that all kingdoms would be destroyed. That it [Greece] would continue and rule, till the end of time, and would deliver the kingdom to Christ who was to come.

“And Alexander and his troops arose and departed from Persia, and went forth into the desert, and went and encamped in the mountains of Greece. And he brought the smiths whom he had taken from Egypt, and gave to them Baetdma and Baetdooshee, to labor and dwell there, exempting them from the king's taxes. And he went up and worshipped at Jerusalem. And he embarked on the sea and went to Alexandria. And when he died, he deposited the silver throne of his kingdom at Jerusalem.”

SYRIAC TEXT OF EXTRACT III.

(Syr. pp. 244-270.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

[illegible]

[illegible]

MISCELLANIES.

I. TRANSLATION OF THE FERMÂN GRANTED BY SULTÂN 'ABD-UL-MEJED TO HIS PROTESTANT SUBJECTS.

[Translated by Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary in Turkey.]

Written by the side of the royal cypher in the hand-writing of the August Sultân himself:

"Let attention be given to the unchangeable, constant and perpetual execution of the provisions contained in this my fermân, and let care be taken not to contravene it."

To Sâdehan, the chosen and honorable Vakeel of the Protestant Christian community—may your honor be increased!

When my high fermân reaches you, know that, the all-just and sovereign God, the gracious giver of good, according to his divine, excellent and boundless goodness, having caused my imperial and august person to reign, in regal glory; and having elevated me to the lofty and imperial rank of Caliph, I give thanks, and glory, that so wide a country, and so many cities, and diverse classes of subjects, nations and servants, are committed to the hands of my most just Caliphate, as a special divine trust. Wherefore, in accordance with the benevolence due from my civil and spiritual power, and also in conformity with the excellent custom of my Sultânship and my sovereignty—being favored by the divine goodness and aided from above, since my succeeding to the happy imperial throne—I have used all my care to secure perfect protection to each class of all the subjects of my government, and, especially, as in all former time, that they may enjoy perfect quiet in the performance of religious rites and services, without distinction, in accordance with my true and honest imperial purpose, and my benevolent will; and my Imperial Government continually and without ceasing watches for the same.

And since the good and useful effects of these measures are at all times plainly manifest, it is my imperial desire that no improper or disorderly thing of whatever kind, be thoughtlessly occasioned to the faithful subjects of my kingdom of the Protestant faith, and that the special privileges granted by my Imperial Government concerning religion and matters pertaining to it, be perpetually preserved from all detriment. And, as it is my imperial will that no injury of whatever kind, or in whatever manner, come upon them, therefore, this most righteous imperial edict has been written, that those who act against it, may know that, exposing themselves to my royal in-

dignation, they shall be punished. Notice has been given to the proper authorities, so that there may not be the least ground of excuse, if there should happen, in any way, a neglect of this ordinance.

And this my firm decree has been issued from my royal Divân to make known and establish it as my imperial purpose, that this thing shall be carried into full and complete execution. Wherefore, you who are the above mentioned Vakeel, on learning this, will always move and act in accordance with the demands of this my high fermân, and carefully abstain from every thing at variance with these things; and if any thing shall occur contrary to this my decisive order, you will forthwith make it known to the Sublime Porte. Know this to be so, and give credence to my imperial cypher.

Written in the last of the month Sha'bân, 1269 [the latter part of May, or first of June, 1853].

II. THE SO-CALLED NESTORIAN MONUMENT OF SINGAN-FU.

THE question is still agitated by the learned, whether the Nestorian monument of Singan-fu is genuine, or whether it is a fabrication of the Jesuit missionaries.

A review of the present state of the question was given in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. iii. No. 2, 1853, which has awakened, in the members of the Oriental Society at least, a new interest on the subject.

It is not my object to go over the ground again, but merely to give some suggestions which seem to arise from comparing the so-called Nestorian monument of Singan-fu with the inscriptions on the Jewish temple or synagogue at Kaefung-fu. This temple has lately been visited by two Chinese Christian converts, and an account of the temple, together with its inscriptions, was published by Rev. Geo. Smith, Bishop of Victoria, at Shanghai, in 1851.

My supposition is, that the monument was dug up in 1625, about one mile from Singan-fu, according to the representation of the Jesuits, and that this was the site of an ancient Nestorian church which existed there some eight hundred years before. That the Nestorians had churches in China, is sufficiently confirmed by other evidence, and that they might have had one in the ancient imperial city of Singan-fu is sufficiently plausible in itself. The monument is every way adapted to a church.

1. The inscriptions at Kaefung-fu are partly in Hebrew and partly in Chinese. The monument of Singan-fu is partly in Syriac and partly in Chinese. We might naturally expect that a foreign sect, if they retained their original language, would write in that language

only; and if they had lost their original language, would write in the vernacular language of the country. But in each case we find two languages combined. A mere impostor could hardly have had sufficient inducement to write in two languages at once.

2. The inscriptions at Kaefung-fu record facts interesting to the Jewish community; as, that their religion originated in Theén-chüh (India), being brought into China by seventy families or clans; that they were favored by an emperor of the Sung dynasty (in 419); that the synagogue was built by Yen Toola (in 1166); that it was rebuilt by Woo-Szi-tä (in 1280); etc. The monument of Singan-fu records facts interesting to the Nestorian community; as, that they were favored by a Chinese emperor (in 639); that they were persecuted by the Buddhists (in 699); etc.

3. The inscriptions at Kaefung-fu labor to prove that Judaism is a religion of truth and purity; and that the Jews will make good subjects. The Chinese portion of the monument of Singan-fu argues in a way somewhat similar in favor of the Nestorians.

4. The inscriptions at Kaefung-fu recommend obedience to parents and magistrates, and praise the Chinese emperors for favors conferred by them. So does the Chinese portion of the Nestorian monument very explicitly.

5. The Hebrew inscriptions at Kaefung-fu, as we might expect, breathe a Jewish spirit. So the Syriac inscription on the monument of Singan-fu breathes a Nestorian spirit. The Chinese inscriptions in each case exhibit a new element and somewhat different spirit.

6. The inscriptions at Kaefung-fu in Chinese have much to say of eternal *tau* (reason); the Chinese portion of the monument of Singan-fu makes repeated mention of *tau* (reason). See *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* iii. 417. These peculiar views of *tau* or reason, which appear to us mystical and obscure, were held in common by the authors of the inscriptions at Kaefung-fu and Singan-fu.

These analogies are altogether in favor of the genuineness of the monument.

J. W. G.

III. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SHEMAITIC AND JAPHETIC FAMILIES OF LANGUAGES, APPLIED TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE original forms of the Shemitic and Japhetic languages, were developed under the influence of different conceptions both as to the relations of actions, and the relations of the constituents of external nature, to each other and to man. This has led to dissimilarities in these languages, of a two-fold character.

1. The relations of actions of a definite character among themselves, are those of order, duration and time. The relation of order or sequence, as originating verbal inflections, is exhibited in the Shemitic tongues in the variations known by the names of the preterite and the future. The first expresses the commencing action of a series; and the second expresses the subsequent actions constituting portions of the same combination of incidents. Neither form, when thus traced to its original signification, includes any reference to time other than that which is included in relative order or sequence.

The Japhetic verbal variations of this class exclude the idea of mere sequence, and include those of duration and time, expressed separately by specific marks. In respect to duration, actions are considered as being continuous or as terminated. The difference is indicated by the introduction of an element expressing the simple and absolute completeness of action, as *ser* or *ver* (originally *sver*), in Latin, or by auxiliaries and participial modifications, as: *I have raised*, in English. To such stem-forms or sub-modes the marks of time are superadded. In this great family of tongues, we are particularly struck by the difficulty experienced in expressing the idea of simple futurity, as indicated by the variety of modes assumed to overcome the difficulty. The ideas of *prolonging*, *enduring*, *approaching*, *choosing*, *wishing*, seem involved in the different future forms of classical, oriental and Teutonic verbs.

Hence, wherever we find actions contemplated as differing in duration and time, or verbs having completeness of act indicated by a special element, and wherever special elements are introduced to mark time, future or past, as modifying these varieties of action, we should decide that the language possesses Japhetic developments, or falls into relationship with that family of tongues.

2. Two very different views have been taken of the relations of external things among themselves. In one mode of dealing with them, all are considered as having a relation to action, either as modifying or as modified. Hence they fall into the two divisions of subject and object, which perhaps originally corresponded to the two classes of animated being, or being capable of acting by itself, and inanimate being, or being incapable of producing effects by its own agency. This gives origin to that form of gender which offers the distinction of personal and impersonal or neuter. Here, the objective or neuter class, as indicating the primary relation of all things to actions produced by man, is the more general, or the simpler in form; and is therefore radical. The other class is set apart from it by a definite mark of personality, appearing as *s* in the classical tongues, as in *facile* and *facilis*. This may be designated the logical form of gender, and is characteristic of the Japhetic family of languages.

The other view of external things contemplates all as being in themselves subjective or living, and as being therefore divisible into the two orders of male and female. This conception is characteristic of the Shemitic tongues. It may be called the sexual form of gender. Both ideas are found combined in the Indo-European tongues generally. But it is to be observed, that the logical distinction of gender is, in the original forms belonging to that family, universal; that the distinctive sign of sex is found in feminines alone; that in them it is normally superadded to the mark of personality; that this sex-sign is nearly identical in form with that which it bears in the Shemitic tongues; and that there is such a wide dissimilarity between the two ideas, as to render it improbable that both should arise simultaneously in the formation of a language. We may infer, therefore, that the sexual distinction was wanting in the original condition of the Japhetic family, and that it is of later introduction into that class of tongues, through the influence perhaps of the Shemitic race in enlightening and civilizing the world. The distinction, however, now explained, serves as a valid ground of classification.

The application of these principles of analysis leads to the arrangement of the South-African tongues under two great divisions. These have very many features in common, as in fact all languages have. Their common character is especially apparent in regard to a set of relations not noticed above, or to those existing between actions and their subjects and objects, or existing among actions themselves, as to frequency, intensity, purpose, etc. On these relations are founded the distinctions of conjugation or voice. Such forms are abundant in the South-African tongues of both classes, but more especially so in those of that class which we will proceed to notice first.

(1.) There are the widely spread forms of speech belonging to the Negro race of the Congo and Zambéze. These dialects occupy nearly the whole of the region South of the Equinoctial, and constitute radically one language. They are distinguished preëminently by the extent to which the repetition of the same sign in the same clause is carried out, by means of prefixes; which has given origin to the appropriate designation applied to them, of the Alliterative Class of languages. These prefixes have a demonstrative or individualizing effect on the subjects of propositions. They exhibit a variety of forms, which seems to have arisen either from two distinct terms having the same meaning, or from one term containing a very complex or variable consonant-sound, and, according to a common incident of speech, assuming intonations determined by the initial sounds of the words to which the prefixes are attached. In order that the subjective character of an idea presented as the modifier of a subject, may be vividly impressed and retained, the prefix is at-

tached not only to the subject itself, but also to its qualifying term, and to most of the constituents of any predicate. In this way, the forms of words are multiplied beyond their normal complement, in correspondence with the variety of forms which this prefix may assume, as influenced by the initial sounds of substantives. Gender is of the logical and not of the sexual form; but indications of the distinction, as a constituent of terms, are obscure. The verbal inflections possess the Japhetic variations distinguishing between continuous and terminated action; with the superadded distinctions of time, the future being indicated by elements involving the idea of *approach* or *being at*. Hence the developments of this great class of languages are distinctly Japhetic.

(2.) The other class of languages comprehends the dialects of the Namaquas, Korannas and Bushinen. From the character of some of its consonant-sounds it has been denominated the Click-tone Class. It may be entitled the Gariepine Class, as being found chiefly in the arid regions round the lower Gariep or Orange river, to which the Hottentots, the race using it, have been driven on by other races. It has Japhetic characteristics in its verbal forms. It offers an analogy with the Polynesian languages, by possessing inclusive and exclusive forms of the plural pronouns of the first person. This lateral relation becomes of interest, when we contemplate the presence of a Polynesian dialect among the Hovas of Madagascar.

It stands contrasted with the Zambezan already mentioned, and coincides with the Shemitic, in possessing a purely sexual form of gender. This, however, is not exactly of the Shemitic type, which assigns to the feminine alone a distinguishing element, for the Gariepine has marks for both genders. Nor has it the prefix-system of the Zambezan. Thus there are positive and negative characters separating it widely from the Zambezan class of tongues.

It has, however, some remarkable and interesting relations. In possessing the verbal distinctions of duration and time characteristic of Japhetic forms, it agrees with the Galla and the monumental Egyptian. It bears a close analogy to the former in the mode in which the idea is carried out, as well as in the general character of its conjugations. All these three have the same form of gender, this being less distinctly marked in the Galla. The Hottentot and old Egyptian have the distinctive elements of gender almost identical. The Namaqua has, for the masculine termination, *b* or *p*, and in the pronoun of the third person singular, *mb*. The feminine termination is *s*, which in the pronoun of the first person singular, becomes dental, or *t*. In the monumental Egyptian the termination of the pronoun of the third person singular is, in the masculine, *f*, and in the feminine, *s*. These, in demonstratives, become the prefix *p* for the masculine, and *t* for the feminine. In the Galla, the masculine termination

is probably, but obscurely, *a*. The feminine is distinctly *t*, *tí* or *tu*. These three, therefore, may be assumed as constituting members of one great family of tongues. Since the Gariepine or Hottentot race is known only as a receding one, and traces of its existence extend into the interior of South Africa, it may be looked upon as a fragment of the old and properly Ethiopic population, stretched along the mountain-spine of Africa, through the regions now occupied by the Galla; but cut through and now enveloped by tribes of a different stock.

J. C. ADAMSON.

IV. LETTER FROM REV. DR. J. L. KRAPE.

East Africa, Rabbai Mpia, 6th April, 1853.

YOUR kind letter (New Haven, 28th Oct., 1851) reached me toward the close of 1852, when I was on the point of crossing from Zanzibar over to the coast of the Pangani river, to penetrate into the interior of the kingdom of Usambára.

I now avail myself of an opportunity to express my humble thanks to your Society for the confidence and honor conferred upon me by this election, and I beg to say that after the receipt of your letter I was perfectly ready in my small part to contribute toward the furtherance of the Society's noble and praiseworthy object, and that I was about to pen several matters relating to East-African geography, in which I thought the Society would feel interested. But a few weeks ago I received a severe letter from Major Hamerton, the British Consul and Hon. Company's Resident at Zanzibar, to the effect that His Highness the Imam of Mascat, who resides at Zanzibar and who claims the whole coast from Mukdishia (Magadoxa on the maps) down to Tungi or Cape Delgado, was led to believe that my giving information on this coast would greatly harm his interests, and that the continuance of this line of conduct on my part would cause a death-blow to my missionary labors in East Africa. The British Consul seems inclined to support the Imam's determination, and to report on this matter to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs at London.

The matter of fact, which occasioned this turn of things, is this.—After my return from Usambára I had been asked by the French Consul, Mr. De Belligny (to whom I had been introduced by the British Consul himself in 1849), about the coast between the Pangani river and the islet of Tanga, concerning which part of the coast the French Consul had learned that it did not belong to the Imam, but to the inland rulers. He therefore wished to know from me, whether

this report was true or false. Finding the French Consul a most kind-hearted host, a nobleman by birth and accomplished gentleman by education, observing his desire for scientific matters, especially for geographical objects (he himself having travelled to New Zealand and other quarters of the globe), not suspecting any evil consequence which might arise from my information, I stated to him what I knew to be the truth, viz: that at the very time when I was on the Pangani coast, the king of Usambára's soldiers and officers had arrived from the capital Fuga, to collect the tribute which the king every second or third year levies upon the villagers residing between the river and the islet of Tanga. I also mentioned that the king appoints his own governors on that coast. Such was then the actual state of things in that quarter, and as such I represented it to the French Consul in all sincerity and innocency, thinking it very wrong to conceal from him what I knew to be the truth, especially as he asked me concernedly about this matter. Had I concealed it, or declined to reply to his question, I [had] feared the Consul would consider me a secret emissary of the Imam or of the British; and he would have thought my conduct inconsistent with my word, when I told him, formerly, that as a missionary I was the friend of all nations.

Nothing of a political nature was spoken between us, nor did the Consul mention, in the least, that he would or could build some political scheme upon my information. However, it appears that after my departure he communicated to the Imam's son who was vicegerent during the Imam's absence from Zanzibar, that the coast from the Pangani river to Tanga does not belong to His Highness. The son wrote the Consul's report to his father at Mascat, who on his return from Arabia brought a military force to compel all chiefs and tribes to acknowledge his authority. I met the Imam at Mombas, who encouraged me most kindly and condescendingly to go on in my respective labors, although he knew that I had given information to the French Consul. But having arrived at Zanzibar, he mentioned it to the British Consul that I might become detrimental to his interests by giving information on his countries. Upon this the British Consul wrote to me a letter, in which he pointed out the ruin of my Mission, if the giving of information were not discontinued.

I of course immediately sent an explanation on matters past, for which I apologized, as I did not know that it was the will of His Highness and the British Consul, that this coast should not be spoken of abroad, but [adding] that, as I now was acquainted with their sentiments, I would henceforth submit myself to their regulations, and throw the profoundest silence upon the Imam's territory in East Africa, in order that no detriment might be caused to his interest,

and that His Highness might have no just cause to expel me from his country. I admitted that I as a missionary was no traveller *ex professo*, that my primary object was not to make and publish scientific inquiries, that I was not sent to impart geographical but spiritual truth, to the salvation of immortal beings. Wherefore I could and would readily submit to the Imam's request, as its refusal would lay the cause of Christianity at stake.

It is a matter deeply to be deplored, that politics cannot yet go hand in hand with science. What the scientific and philanthropic public wishes to be cleared, the politicians desire to be shut up and unknown. The missionary, especially, is embarrassed by these intervening rival powers. At home the learned often complain that the missionaries' reports are so very meagre in point of scientific interest; but abroad the politicians complain of the missionaries' communicative propensity, and they threaten them with the destruction of their work. When the missionaries take an interest in scientific matters and endeavor to leave their reports not so meagre, as they often are complained of being, the politicians say: Keep ye silence, or we will put you down; what business have you to communicate your geographical knowledge to the world? Thus the missionary is compelled to abandon the man in order to save the clergyman. As man, he feels like others an interest in all useful matters and pursuits of this world, especially in matters of science, for which his education has prepared him. But according to the law which is about to be established in East Africa, the missionary will be doomed to desert the man, if he wishes to save his ministerial labors. This state of things will not cease as long as the national jealousies of white people exist, and as long as the black race is allowed to take advantage of these strifes, which permit them still in many quarters to keep up their system of underhand dealing and concealing, to the detriment of the cause of science and philanthropy. Poor Continent of Africa, how degraded thou art! thy fine countries, thy hidden treasures, as well as thy woes and miseries, must not be known to the white man, who could help thee. Only the slave-trader and barbarian, who harms thy real interest, must know thee and be permitted to know the secrets the disclosure of which has agitated the minds of the noblest men of all Christian nations. Be it so yet for a *little while*.

I must not omit mentioning to you, that together with Major Hamerton's letter I received some information about the unjust . . . criticism which Mr. Cooley in England has exercised against me and my colleague Mr. Rebman, in his pamphlet "Inner Africa Laid Open." I obtained this information from the Church-Missionary Intelligencer (October, 1852), a paper which is edited by my Society, and which

has [published] and will in future also publish my own and my colleague's journals. As you have probably read Mr. Cooley's pamphlet and the noble reply which the editor of the *Intelligencer* has made to the pamphlet, I may be short about this matter. I have not yet seen the pamphlet itself, but what I could gather from the *Intelligencer* leads me to think that, if all geographers of the present day were of the same cast with Mr. Cooley, it would scarcely be worth while to give any information, as Mr. Cooley in his study-room knows Africa much better than men who have hazarded their lives in African discoveries, whose characters he disparages and whose reports he slights, whilst he seems to found his exclusive theories on the statements of Arab sailors and run-away slaves, whom he may meet in London, and who for a few shillings will answer him any question he puts to them, and who after their return to Africa ridicule the philosopher's credulity in the far-famed world's town of London. But "*mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur.*" I will not trouble you with a refutation of the charges brought against me by Mr. Cooley. I trust his pamphlet will turn out to the ultimate advantage of the East-African missionaries, as men who know the old saying "*audiat et altera pars,*" will examine the matter, and give an impartial judgment upon the merits of Mr. Cooley and the missionaries. I do not fear the strictest investigation—for the mountains which I have seen, the rivers I have crossed, and other matters I and my colleagues have mentioned, will not disappear before the end of the world comes on. Besides, I console myself with the historical fact, that the first discoverers have often been ill treated, until a future generation did them right. I may have committed many mistakes, for the correction of which I am thankful to the impartial critic, but I am not conscious of having wilfully falsified matters of fact, which I consider a crime committed against science itself. I am not travelling for writing books and getting a geographical celebrity at home. I prefer meagre but truthful journals to the poetic and romantic balloons which I have seen adventurers and ambitious men construct upon the geography of Africa. No doubt, Mr. Cooley will rather distrust the missionary than the French adventurer with whom I accompanied the king of Shoa's expedition into the Galla country, when we came to the vicinity of the sources of the Hawash river. We were still distant about two days' march, when the king ordered his army to return. Myself and the Frenchman were very sorry that the king took this step, as we lived in hopes to see and describe the sources of that noble stream. However, we could not help complying with the king's request, and we were to sacrifice our curiosity to the monarch's field-orders. Nor could we at our own risk leave the royal army, as we would have been massacred by the Gallas instantly. Even a guard of some thousand men would not have given us suffi-

cient protection, as the king even with his twenty or thirty thousand men did not venture to continue his march. The Frenchman, mortified at losing the opportunity of seeing the sources of the Hawash, said to me: "But, Mr. Krapf, we must say that we have seen the sources of the Hawash." When I objected to this false suggestion, he added: "Eh bien, nous devons être des philosophes." And indeed he mentions in his book, that he had seen the sources of the Hawash, that he was conducted by a safe-guard of the king, that he measured the sources. But there is not one word of truth in his statement, nor was he ever separated from me on the whole expedition. He got some information from the natives, as I also did, about the character of the sources, and he then borrowed and described the rest according to Mr. Bruce's statement of the sources of the Abessinian Nile. I mention this fact to show you why I rather prefer the meagre reports of the missionaries than the poetic sentimentalities of many travellers *ex professo*, and that Mr. Cooley the philosopher should take great care lest he impose upon others epithets which the disparaged missionary might be able to lay rather upon himself. The old saying "*per quod quis peccat per idem punitur et idem*" is still in force, and might one day find out Mr. Cooley in his study-room at London. He must know that I have the means to find out the persons at Zanzibar who gave him information, and that I can by ocular observation overthrow his theory. And indeed I was on the point to leave Rabbai and proceed to Zanzibar, and thence to Kiloa and the interior as far as to the lake Niassa. I had already packed up my things, when the sad letter of Major Hamerton reached me on the very day when I intended to start. Thus the journey was postponed.

In spite of Mr. Cooley's stricture, I maintain that the distance from the coast to Kikumbuliu is 90 hours, to Yata about 110, to Kiwoi's hamlet between 140 and 150, to the Dana river 180 hours. From the coast of Mombas to Kadiaro there are about 36 hours, to Kilema 70, and to Majame 90. The journey to the river Dana beyond Ukambani was made by myself, that to Majame in Jagga was made by Mr. Rebman. The ordinary travelling-hours were 8 or 10 hours per day; in many cases 12 and 13 hours, owing to the want of water and dangers from lurking enemies. Mr. Cooley is entirely wrong, when he talks of a promenade of 15 or 16 miles. The height of the mountains which Mr. Cooley thinks exaggerated, will, I trust, be found still greater on the application of measurements, than by my guessing estimates. When in Abessinia I always estimated the mountains much lower than they were afterward found by scientific men who measured them. Thus, I trust, my veracity will come to light, though Mr. Cooley for a time violates it. If the

Kilimanjaro* had snow in 1848, when Mr. Rebman first discovered the mountain, and I in 1849 and 1852 confirmed his report, it will have snow, also, when other travellers shall see it. If a future traveller makes the same serpentine course on a journey to Usambára, as I made in 1848, with a guide who did not know the road, he will report the same distance which I have reported. In short, Mr. Cooley's hypercritical notes will all come to nought, when impartial travellers come to these regions—the philosopher must give way to empirical facts. Let only men come who will brave hunger and thirst, travelling on foot in a burning sun, the dangers from wild men and beasts, the endless and excruciating beggary of the natives, often the violence of the rains—I am sure the veracity of the missionaries will be vindicated. In spite of Mr. Cooley's indignation, I still maintain that I would solve, single-handed (if he means quite alone), the great problems of geography, if it were my duty to do so—not to serve my own ambition, as he calls it, but to serve the cause of science and the cause of God. An experience of fifteen years in Africa has given me many advantages which a man coming just from America or Europe cannot lay hold of. But I will abstain from troubling you any more on these subjects.

Lastly, I may be permitted to present to your Society a copy of the missionaries' map designed by Mr. Rebman to illustrate several journeys along the coast and to the interior. Of course it does

* In regard to the snow-mountain Kilimanjaro, situated in the territory of the Jagga tribes, I may mention that soon after my landing on this coast in 1844, I heard of a high mountain in the interior, of which the natives gave me a curious account. They said that it was inhabited by evil spirits, which will destroy anybody who ventures to ascend the mountain—they reported that it contained *moadisi ya feda* or silver-stuff, which looks very white. I could never make out what that white matter might be. I thought there might be calcareous rocks, or some white impalpable sand, of the existence of which I had heard in Arabia, when the natives told me that there was beyond Hadramaut a sandy region in which men and animals will sink, when approaching it. Thus I explained to myself the report of the natives regarding the white matter and evil spirits on the Kilimanjaro. It never came to my mind that there might be snow. I was therefore astonished when Mr. Rebman, on his return, told me that it was nothing but snow, and that the coldness was the evil spirit on the mountain. Mr. Cooley therefore does me a wilful wrong when he says that I suggested to Mr. Rebman that the white matter was snow, and that I wrote this in a foot-note of Mr. Rebman's journal. Mr. Rebman, on his first journey, did not hear from his guide that the natives have the word *kido* for snow—he learned it on his second journey. We never interfere with each other's journals—each one sends his off at his own responsibility. For a long time we did not know that they were printed, as we sent them only for the information of our Committee at London. The same was the case when I was in Abessinia. My journals were printed without my knowledge, yet they were never attacked, although there were many scientific travellers who afterward traversed the same tract of country which I had trodden before.

not claim scientific accuracy, but, notwithstanding, it will be of some use. I am sorry I cannot present to you a copy of my Kiswahili Grammar, and Vocabulary of six East-African Languages, which I carried through the press during my short stay in Europe in 1850.

A copy of a spelling-book and a translation of the Gospel of St. Luke in Kinika, I sent to your Society, if I remember well. A copy of St. Mark, in Kikamba, I allow myself to send at the present opportunity.

P. S.—Regarding the map, I may add that the results of my second journey to Ukambani are not embodied in it. According to that journey, made in 1851, the snow-mountain Kenia or Kirenia must be placed more to the North-West—because it lies about 50 hours distant from Mlé, where I saw the river Dana. The lake which is formed from the water coming from the mountain, lies to the North-East of the mountain. From that lake runs a river called Tumbiri, which I am inclined to identify with the Tubirih of Mr. Werne, who accompanied the Pasha of Egypt's expedition as far as to the fourth degree N. from the Equator, and who was told by the natives that the source of that river is a month's journey from the island of Tchanker where the expedition terminated. A month's journey is a distance of 120 hours, effectual march and resting included. The distance between the Red Sea and Shoa is about 120 hours, and we made it in about 30 days. But the travelling of the natives is very different in countries where they find little water, no food, no inhabitants. They must make large distances of 10 and 12 hours a day, for they cannot carry on their shoulders more provisions than what will suffice for ten or twelve days. This is the case on the way to Ukambani, where they find water scarce and no food whatever, if they cannot take a supply on Mount Maingu, or Ndara, the inhabitants of which are frequently their enemies. Suppose the distance between Tchanker and the source of the Tubirih to be 120 hours, it would make four degrees, and this would quite agree with the position of the mountain Kenia and the adjacent lake. I knew nothing of Mr. Werne's book on my first journey to Ukambani, but when I saw it in Germany I was quite surprised at the agreement of his statements with my information obtained in Ukambani in 1849. I therefore cling to my opinion that the real source of the White Nile will be found in the vicinity of the Equator, where I placed it, whatever may be the objection of Mr. Cooley.

V. GRAMMAR AND DICTIONARY OF THE ZULU LANGUAGE.

[THE following information is extracted from a letter of Rev. Lewis Grout, missionary in S. Africa, dated Umsunduzi, July 25, 1853.]

A Commission of six (three from our Mission) has been appointed by the Local Government to prepare and publish a grammar and dictionary of the Zulu language, to be published chiefly at the expense of the Government. We have had our first meeting, at which the preparation of the dictionary was referred chiefly to Rev. Mr. Döhne, and of the grammar to myself, each work to be subject to a general review by the whole Commission, before going to press, which cannot be expected under a year.

VI. THE LAW OF STORMS IN CHINESE.

[A PAMPHLET with this title was published at Ningpo, in 1853, by D. J. Macgowan, M. D., missionary of the American Baptist Missionary Union. The following introductory note, by the author, explains the nature and design of the publication. It is an attempt to familiarize the Chinese with a branch of meteorological science of quite recent origin even in the West.]

“THE Chinese name of this pamphlet, *Hàng Hài Kín Chín*, signifies The Navigator's Golden Needle. It has been drawn up in accordance with the wishes of H. E. Col. Reid, and is published at the expense of J. C. Bowring, Esq., of Hong Kong. The Chapter on the Typhoons of the China Sea in Col. Reid's work forms the basis of this; use having been made also of the publications of my townsman Mr. Redfield of New York, and Mr. Piddington of Calcutta. So much of the science of meteorology as applies to the subject, has been introduced, with some general principles of navigation as practised in the West; the whole being interspersed with remarks on natural and revealed religion.

“This new science has advanced so slowly among physicists and navigators in Europe and America,—no allusion having been made to it by the illustrious author of *Cosmos* in his masterly survey of the universe, and it being regarded with mistrust by mariners,—that it may by many be deemed premature and futile, to attempt its explanation to a people so slow to appreciate new discoveries as the Chinese. But its simple axioms may be acquired with such facility, and are of such manifest utility in enabling seamen to escape from the fury of these storms, so frequent and destructive on their coast, that it is probable Chinese navigators will gradually avail themselves of the information here proffered, and also, as Col. Reid hopes, will

be induced to make observations calculated to perfect our acquaintance with the tracks of revolving storms, in regions rarely visited by foreign ships.

"By enabling medical missionaries to relieve the ailments of tens of thousands annually, the foreign residents render a praiseworthy service to the country; but the natives have yet other claims upon the philanthropic, which it is hoped may not be disregarded. They need instruction in those sciences which are the source of so much of the wealth and power of our native lands, and without which the resources of the empire can never be fully developed. In supplying them with works of a scientific character, we shall not only promote their material interests, but by employing these as media for conveying religious truth, we shall contribute largely to their intellectual and moral regeneration. The various benevolent organizations of England and America contemplate no more than the simple propagation of the Gospel, and direct efforts, therefore, made to promote secular knowledge in China require the special assistance of the benevolent generally, and to such the subject is respectfully commended.

D. J. M."

Ningpo, June, 1853.

VII. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

1. *Lepsius on the First Order of Egyptian Deities.*

Ueber den ersten ägyptischen Götterkreis, und seine geschichtlich-mythologische Entstehung, von R. Lepsius. Gelesen in der königl. Academie der Wissenschaften am 26 Juni, 1851. Mit vier Tafeln. Berlin, 1851. pp. 58, 4to.

It is rather late to notice this publication, two years and a half after its first appearance, but it has only lately come into our hands for a more careful examination, and it has interested and enlightened us so much that we cannot refrain from presenting here some abstract of its contents. It is unfortunately but too well known to those who have had occasion to inquire somewhat touching the Egyptian religion, in what a state of bewildering confusion is all our knowledge of it; how impossible it is to pierce through the multitude of its external phenomena to the original fundamental ideas out of which the system has grown up. There must have been at one time, of course, a universal Egyptian religion: the race, when it first occupied the valley of the Nile, must have brought with it as well the germs of a common religious belief as of a common civilization; something must have preceded this chaos of local divinities, and of gods who are evidently the offspring of a comparatively

very late and developed order of things; and it ought not to be impossible to find, amid the great body of information furnished by history and the monuments, tokens which shall show us with something like certainty what that primitive religion was. But those who have hitherto treated the subject have been so much occupied with establishing the mutual relations of the various members of the Pantheon, and with attempting to assign them their positions and offices, that more general questions have had little chance of engaging their attention. And yet it is plain that some fundamental idea, some principle of relation, must be discovered, or the mass will never emerge from the condition of a chaos into that of light and order. The English reader has only to be referred to the chapter on Religion in Kenrick's *Ancient Egypt*, a work which in general merits high praise, both for its careful and accurate assemblage of the results of the latest investigations touching its subject, and for the clearness with which it presents them, for an indication of how unsatisfactory and disappointing is wont to be the handling of this theme. The treatise now under discussion does, it seems to us, go very far toward placing the whole inquiry on a new and improved basis, and directing the eye of the student to the goal which he has been seeking.

The attempts which have been made to classify and rank the divinities of Egypt, have founded themselves upon the notices of Herodotus respecting a native Egyptian classification of them. According to him, there were three orders: the so-called first gods were eight, and among them were Pan and Leto; the second were twelve, and of their number was Hercules; the third, descended from the second, included Osiris. It was natural to conclude that in the first class the Egyptians must have grouped together the gods whom the national consciousness recognized as the most original. It became then a point of special importance, to establish which were these primary eight; and this is what our author, leaving out of sight the other two classes, seeks to accomplish. He first passes in review the results arrived at by his predecessors in the same investigation: Jablonski, Prichard, Champollion, Wilkinson, Bunsen, Schwenk, are successively referred to, and finally, for the sake of completeness, even Rôth (of Heidelberg), who might fairly have been left unnoticed, inasmuch as all sounder scholars unite in condemning his vagaries and theorizings as wild and groundless; the specimens adduced by our author of the opinions held by him are quite enough to justify his being set aside without a formal refutation. This review completed, the author proceeds to set forth his own opinions and their grounds. Here, as elsewhere in his researches, the authority on which he relies is Manetho, as completed, explained, or corrected by the monuments. It is his unrivalled command of the latter that gives him

strength to uphold the former against the misconceptions of the Greek writers. For nothing has so much tended to confuse and mislead later inquirers as Herodotus' mistaken assertion that Osiris belonged to the third order of divinities. It has seemed to bar the door against the otherwise so natural attempt to identify the three orders with the Manethonian dynasties of gods, held to have reigned during long cyclical periods prior to the commencement of human history under Menes; it has given rise to the opinion, even now so general, that the worship of Osiris was of very recent origin and might almost be traced back to its commencement in modern times, and that the farther back investigation is carried, the more prominently does the divinity and worship of Ammon stand forth: whereas in truth quite the contrary is the case. Our author had already (*Chron. der Egypten*, p. 253) pointed out Herodotus' error, and assigned its probable cause. It had, namely, come to be a generally received opinion among the Greeks, that Horus, the son of Osiris, was the last god who reigned in Egypt before Menes; he and his father were then naturally referred to the end of the third order. But it was in itself highly improbable, that Osiris, whom Herodotus even states to be (with Isis) the only divinity universally and equally revered throughout all Egypt, and whose connection with the funeral ceremonial and the ideas of another life gave him the highest import, and the most intimate relation to the general religious sentiment of the race, should be a god of low rank and late origin. And the monuments place the matter beyond question. Our author has succeeded in finding thirty-six instances (thirteen of which are given in the lithographic plates appended to the essay) of a grouping together of certain divinities evidently to be regarded as constituting the first class. They do not all agree in every particular either with one another or with Manetho, but the main elements are the same in all, and the differences are such as admit of an easy explanation. The normal number is seven rather than eight. The class divides itself into two well defined groups, each coherent and homogeneous in itself, but standing in no relation save that of juxtaposition to the other. The former of them consists of three sun-gods. According to the Upper-Egyptian doctrine, these were Mentu, Atnuu, Mu. The first two are but two personifications of the sun, as morning and evening divinity, as above and below the horizon, ruler of the day and of the night; the third receives the almost constant epithet Si-Ra, "Son of the Sun," and the name appears to signify light or glory. Here then we have the highest place in the Egyptian religion, as reduced to system by the native priesthood, occupied by divinities whose significance is derived from their being representatives of Ra, the sun. This is deemed by our author a plain indication that the grand central idea of the Egyptian religion was an

adoration of the sun. And he is able to bring up from all sides considerations to confirm this theory. Beside its high plausibility, regarded from a religio-historical point of view, and the difficulty of explaining by other means the elevation of Ra to the place he is made to occupy, his position in the general religious regard of the nation is strongly in its favor. He is the only divinity to whom priestly theory has never ventured to assign a goddess as feminine embodiment of his principle; he is the constantly recurring ideal of king's power and authority; he is the highest essence of the chief local divinities, who all of them strive by combination or identification with him to strengthen their title to eminence in the Pantheon. It may appear strange that Ra does not assume in person his post at the head of the system, but it is to be borne in mind that the outward form of the classification was the work of the priests alone, who may well have had their theoretical grounds for expanding the single god into a group: the tendency of the Egyptian religious philosophy to make up a triad, consisting of a male and female divinity with their offspring, has been often remarked. And the unimportance, as independent deities, of these representatives of the sun, only sets in a clearer light the power of the idea to which they owed their elevation.

Such was the constitution of the first group, according to Upper-Egyptian authority. In Lower Egypt the political preponderance of the ancient capital, Memphis, was of influence enough to procure its modification for the purpose of introducing into it the local divinity of that city, Ptah (identified by the Greeks with Hephaistos).²³ As the principle of fire, he was made father of the sun itself, and the series was held to be Ptah, Ra, Mu. Manetho, as being himself a Lower-Egyptian priest, represents this form of the theory; in so much the larger part, however, are the religious monuments preserved to us of Upper-Egyptian origin, that but a single one, and that of very late date, has been found to agree with him. But Thebes, the Upper-Egyptian metropolis, had likewise its local divinity, for whom must be sought in the general system a place suited to his dignity. This was the god Ammon; at the comparatively late period when Thebes attained the sovereignty of Egypt, there was not mobility enough left in the mythologic organism to allow of his being brought into it in like manner with the Memphitic Ptah: he was identified with Ra, and as Ammon-Ra declared chief and father of the gods; as such he is also in a few instances prefixed to the series already given, or set in the place of the first of them, Mentu.

The second group is that which clusters about the central figure of Osiris. It is made up of four gods, Seb (Chronos), Hesiri (Osiris), Set (Typhon) and Hur (Horus), with whom are associated respectively the goddesses Nut, Hes (Isis), Nephthys and Hathor. Its

original constituents, beside Osiris himself, were only Isis, his wife ; Typhon, his brother, and at the same time his enemy and destroyer ; and Horus, his son and avenger. Seb and Nut, his parents, and the two goddesses Nephthys and Hathor, are but theoretical additions to the circle for the purpose of filling up and completing it. With respect to this group the monuments agree with hardly a variation, saving as those of a later date, originating after the expulsion from the Pantheon of the hated Typhon, substitute for him some other god. To account for the association of the Osiris-circle with that of the sun-gods, to form the first class of Egyptian divinities, our author directs attention to the fact that the most prominent seat of the worship of Osiris was the ancient city of This (Abydos), and that from this city Menes went forth to consolidate the Egyptian tribes under one government, and lay the foundation of the monarchy. The elevation of the god of This, then, would be analogous to that less fully accomplished in the cases of the gods of Memphis and Thebes. The analogy, however, does not by any means hold good in all points. It may be questioned, in the first place, whether the Osiris-worship had its proper origin and home in This, any more than that of Ra in Heliopolis or any other city in which he was worshipped with especial reverence ; again, This, though the birth-place of the founder of Egyptian history, was at no time itself the capital of Egypt, since Menes from the first established the seat of his dynasty in Memphis ; and, finally, neither Ptah nor Ammon ever made his way to an importance in the whole religious belief and observance of the race approaching to that of Osiris. If, then, the worship of the latter had in fact a local origin, it must have sprung up, it seems, at a very primitive period ; and it must have possessed features so universally Egyptian that it commended itself to the acceptance of the nation by the force of its own merits, as an expression of the general religious sentiment. Nor do we regard our author as dissenting from this view, or offering the explanation of Osiris' position given above as sufficient and final. He does not, indeed, enter into a full examination of the myth, or discuss the various developments it has undergone or the explications it has received for the purpose of determining its true basis ; but he dwells briefly, and with decided approval, upon the occasionally occurring assertion of the original identity of Osiris with the sun, and regards it as highly probable that the worship of the former was the first mythological expression of the national worship of the latter. And it is plain, that the more clearly he makes it to appear that the sun-worship was in truth the original central idea of the Egyptian religion, the more probable does he render it that the same constitutes also the element of the Osiris-myth. Nor, as we strongly suspect, can the main features of the latter be more satisfactorily explained by the assumption for it of any other foundation.

These are the results, of a character the most interesting and important to every student of Egyptian antiquity, claimed to be established by this essay. It closes with an account of a remarkable attempt made by a monarch of the eighteenth dynasty to reform the national religion, by leading it back to a simple adoration of the sun's orb; there are farther added to it extended historical notices of the worship, in later times abhorred and rejected, of Set (Typhon), and of that of the late Ptolemaic divinity Sarapis. Our remarks, however, already occupy so much room that we must abstain from following the author through these investigations also, and close with recommending the original essay to the attention of all to whom it is accessible, and with expressing our desire to receive farther developments of the subject from the same high authority.

W. D. W.

2. Vullers' *New Persian Lexicon*.

Joannis Augusti Vullers Lexicon Persico-Latinum etymologicum; cum linguis maxime cognatis Sanskrita et Zendica et Pehlevica comparatum, omnes voces, quae in lexicis persice scriptis Borhâni Quâtiû et Haft Qulzum reperiuntur, complectens, adhibitis etiam Castelli, Meninski, Richardson et aliorum operibus, et auctoritate scriptorum Persicorum adauctum. Accedit appendix vocum dialecti antiquioris, Zend et Pazend dictae. Fasciculus I. Bonnæ ad Rhenum, 1853. pp. 208, gr. 8vo.

THIS is not Mr. Vullers' first contribution to Persian philology. He has been an industrious and productive scholar. In 1838 he published a *Chrestomathia Schahnamiana*, consisting mainly of extracts from Firdusi's *Shah-Nameh*; the text which it presents, however, has not met with the unqualified approval of other scholars. In 1837 he edited in two parts, text and annotated translation, that portion of Mirchond's history which treats of the Seljuk dynasty. In 1840 appeared from his pen the first part of a Persian Grammar, which ten years later was completed by the addition of a Syntax and Prosody. This work may perhaps sustain an advantageous comparison with other existing grammars of the same language, but more positive praise we would not venture to bestow upon it: indeed we hardly know another similar work which makes so unfavorable an impression upon its student: it is recommended neither by fullness of collected material, philosophical handling, nor clear and attractive presentation, and the Zend and Sanskrit learning with which it is garnished, and which was meant to constitute its chief strength, is so plainly superficial and insufficient as to give the book the air of an unsuccessful attempt to make a great show with very little substance.

It was not, then, without some misgivings that we read, nearly two years since, the announcement of a new Lexicon by this author. Not that the condition of Persian studies did not call for such a work. Those of its class hitherto accessible were of too unscientific and imperfect character to be the most efficient aids, either in the study of the proper Persian literature, or in the investigation of the ancient dialects of the language. Not that suitable ground had not been prepared to construct it upon. By the labors of various scholars, classical texts enough had been critically edited to furnish an ample material for working up into lexical form. But the predecessors of the promised work, and its programme likewise, gave reason to doubt whether its author was likely to execute his task in a satisfactory manner. And now that a specimen of it at last lies before us, we find our apprehensions fully justified, and cannot help protesting against the presentation to Persian students of a book which so ill corresponds to what they had a right to look for in a new lexicon.

There were two points in particular which called for attention from a fresh laborer in the field of Persian lexicography. The first lay herein, that the former lexica had in the main furnished their results only at second hand: that, instead of being founded directly upon the literary records of the language, they had been elaborated from native glossaries and dictionaries. This was quite in order, of course, at the first, when it was necessary to depend upon native aid for induction into the knowledge of a new tongue. But why any longer make Western scholarship dependent upon Oriental, when the same materials lie before both? Why consent to derive our knowledge of the language of Firdusi, of Jami, of Hafiz, through the medium of works composed in a generation confessedly degenerate, and in a country in which it was an alien? Why serve up again and again the contents of the *Burhani-Quatui*, the *Hefi-Qulzum*, the *Ferbengi-Shuri*, when the classic compositions of Persian poets, philosophers, and historians, are in our hands? Surely we had a right to expect that a lexicographer of the present day, a German too, would make independent investigations the foundation of his work; that he would have carefully studied and excerpted all the texts accessible to him; and especially that he would have laid at the base of all a complete glossary to Firdusi's epic, that great well of pure and undefiled Persian. Nothing of all this has the author of the work in question done for us. His sources are still the works of others in the same department, the native lexicographers and their European representatives. He gives, indeed, a meagre list of Persian texts, on the strength of whose alleged use he appends to his title, as its last and least important item, "*et auctoritate scriptorum Persicorum adauctum*," but a citation from, or a reference to, any of them is a rarity among his pages, while the initials representing his true authorities are to be found scattered plentifully through every article.

The other matter referred to is one which does, indeed, less properly concern the lexicographer, but of which our author in his title-page has fully assumed the responsibility. We mean the elucidation of the difficult question, where does the modern Persian vocabulary come from? Of its forms, its most usual words, and a considerable part of its general material, we do indeed know the origin, and can trace the relationship in the language of the Avesta, of the Inscriptions, in the Sanskrit, or in other less nearly connected members of the same family. Yet there remains a large proportion whose kindred is hitherto undiscovered; in part, doubtless, it lies near by, only hidden by the corruptions of time, in part it may be to be sought on Semitic or Mongol ground. In a work which makes the professions of this one we might surely look for new and valuable light on this point, drawn from the author's own special studies. Nothing of the kind is made to appear, however. We find the old familiar identifications, correct or incorrect, which have already become in a measure the tradition of Persian students, but beyond these only a few not very happy comparisons with words drawn from the impure sources of the latest Sanskrit. The linguistic acquirements of the author wear here the same schoolboy character as in his Grammar.

Approving so little the plan of this work, we do not care to examine very closely the manner in which the author has executed what is actually undertaken. It may very probably possess the merit of being a better reduction of the native lexica than those previously furnished; it presents, farther, only the properly Persian portion of the language, to the exclusion of the Arabic vocabulary upon which the modern Persian may draw at will; and it is very beautifully got up in point of typography: altogether, in the present scarcity of good dictionaries, it is a book which no Persian student can well afford to be without. But the gratitude which we might otherwise be inclined to feel toward the author for so much as this, is checked by the fear that his occupation of the market may tend to defer for an indefinite period the appearance of such a lexicon from another hand as would better meet our views of what the times demand.

W. D. W.

3. *New Sanskrit Lexicon.*

Sanskrit-Wörterbuch; herausgegeben von der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von Otto Böhtlingk und Rudolph Roth. Bogen 1-10. St. Petersburg, 1853. pp. 80, 4to.

THIS great work, the first portion of which has lately been placed in our hands, is the development of a plan originally much less comprehensive. When, namely, in 1845, Böhtlingk gave to Indian scholars his very convenient Chrestomathy, he left it incomplete for want of

a glossary, which, however, he promised to add after a brief interval, reserving it to be decided meanwhile how extensive it should be made. Other employments interfered to defer for a series of years the fulfilment of this promise; a delay at which, however it may have been regretted meanwhile, we can now only rejoice. For when he came to take up the work anew, his sense of the demand for a general Sanskrit lexicon to take the place of the imperfect aids which had hitherto been within the reach of scholars, had become so strong, his own collections had been so much increased, and he was so sure of the sympathy and coöperation of his fellow Sanskritists in Germany, that he was emboldened to lay out, and to procure the sanction and patronage of the Russian Imperial Academy for, a lexicon which should include, so far as hitherto made accessible and investigated, the whole body of Indian literature, from the Vedic texts down to the latest works written in the classical dialect. We cannot too highly congratulate ourselves upon the supply of this grand desideratum. No other department of Oriental study will have been favored, so soon after the time of its first cultivation, with a lexicon which can pretend to compare with this in extent, method and execution. Its plan is quite the reverse of that of the work last noticed: in spite of the different and far higher position occupied by the Indian as compared with the Persian grammarians and lexicographers, it is not content with making itself their interpreter alone: it does them full justice by receiving into itself their whole material, carefully worked up; but its proper basis is the Sanskrit authors themselves. How considerable a portion of the best Indian literature has been excerpted for it, is witnessed by the long list of authorities covering both interior pages of the cover; and this will doubtless be largely added to during the progress of the work. To completeness or entire correctness it does not and cannot of course pretend, in the present elementary state of our knowledge of the language and literature; but it will be a fair and worthy exhibition of the results hitherto arrived at, and the most efficient possible aid to farther progress, entitling its authors to the praise and gratitude of all coming generations of Sanskrit scholars.

Prof. Roth, of Tübingen, is charged with the redaction of a separate department, the Vedic, and his name is associated with Böhtlingk's as joint editor. Weber and Stenzler are their most important auxiliaries, and several others furnish contributions less extensive. The part already published contains, it is estimated, about one-thirtieth of the whole work; another is understood to be on the point of appearing, if not already out,* and a third is promised for the spring. Years must elapse, however, before the work is brought to a completion, even should its regular progress not be interfered with by the political troubles now threatening.

W. D. W.

* The second part has since appeared, containing Bogen 11-20.

4. Benfey's Manual of the Sanskrit Language.

Handbuch der Sanskritsprache. Zum Gebrauch für Vorlesungen und zum Selbststudium. Von Theodore Benfey. Erste Abtheilung: Grammatik. (Also with separate title: *Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache. Zum Gebrauch, etc.*) Leipzig, 1852. *Zweite Abtheilung: Chrestomathie. Erster Theil.* (Also with separate title: *Chrestomathie aus Sanskritwerken. Zum Gebrauch, etc. Erster Theil. Text, Anmerkungen, Metra.*) Leipzig, 1853. pp. xii. 450, and vi. 330, gr. 8vo.

OF the two parts composing this Manual of the Sanskrit Language, one, the Chrestomathy, is as yet incomplete: its text and critical notes alone having been furnished, while the glossary, which is likewise to serve the purpose of a commentary, is not yet ready. As in this unpublished portion is to consist the whole proper value of the work (its texts being all elsewhere accessible, and the principle of their selection offering nothing particularly new or striking), it is impossible to pronounce upon the character of the latter until it shall have made its appearance.

The Grammar, however, is much the more important member of the series. As for the Chrestomathy, the existence of other similar works, and of numerous edited, translated and commented texts in almost every department of Indian literature, render it something which could have been missed without much regret. There was fairly room, however, for a new grammar, if rightly planned and well executed, to excel by far all its predecessors, and almost to make an era in the history of Sanskrit studies. Expectations were raised high in reference to this work on the eve of its appearance, from the known ability and scholarship of its author; and if they have been in some measure disappointed, it must be interesting to know why and how far this is the case.

That the book is one exhibiting great learning and great industry no one will be inclined to deny; when, however, it is added that a good degree of the former and no little of the latter are also required to enable one to make profitable use of it, one main objection to it has been stated. Without doubt, this is a serious objection to a work which professes to have been composed with a special eye to the requirements of private study, and of beginners in the language. But, indeed, it is not possible to conceive of a learner entering upon a more hopeless and discouraging task than that of acquiring Sanskrit through the medium of this Grammar. The author himself seems to have become in some degree sensible of this, as he is understood to be preparing an abridged and simplified edition of his work. But it may be questioned whether the difficulty complained of will be thus entirely removed. It evidently results in great part from

the author's style and manner of statement. He lacks the faculty of expressing a rule or presenting a system of phenomena in a form at once concise and at the first glance intelligible. We have noted, in § 24, a phrase characteristic enough to deserve quoting: "wenn nicht das die die Verwandlung herbeiführenden Laute enthaltende Glied auf endigt." It might not be possible to find a precise parallel for this passage elsewhere in the work (nor, it is to be hoped, many times in the whole domain of written German), yet it is fairly illustrative of Mr. B.'s general mode of expression, which is not less involved and intricate, parenthesis within parenthesis, than this. But there is another and a more deeply seated reason why the book is an unpractical one for the student. It confessedly represents, in the main, the system of the native grammarians, is a reduction to a more coherent form of Pāṇini and his commentators, and it was impossible to retain so much of that system as has here been done, in presenting the great mass of details comprehended by it, without a great sacrifice of intelligibility. This is not the first attempt which has been made to construct a Sanskrit grammar upon such a foundation, and with a similar result. The work of Boller (Wien, 1847) is in almost every respect the forerunner, although unacknowledged, of our author's, only briefer and less comprehensive; and it has failed to find favor or make its way into general use, from the very same faults which characterize also its successor. And if, in spite of such a warning example, the attempt has been repeated, and by a scholar of Mr. Benfey's eminence, we are certainly warranted in seriously inquiring whether this is, after all, the true basis and method of a Sanskrit grammar, to which, with whatever unwillingness, we must needs reconcile ourselves.

Our author partially explains in his preface the considerations which have determined his course. The Sanskrit literature, he says, is neither entirely preserved nor fully accessible to us; besides, no literature can afford anything like a sufficient means of gaining acquaintance with the whole extent of a language; on the other hand, the grammatical system holds a very high rank among the productions of the Indian mind, claims to be, as regards the classical usage, complete, and at any rate enjoyed the advantages of the fullest command of materials, and of a native familiarity with the language. All this, it may be replied, can be assented to without in the least affecting the question whether such a grammatical fabric is to be made the basis of our own treatment of the language, instead of the latter's written records; if these are incomplete, the other may be called in to supply as far as it can the deficiency, without being put in their place (Mr. B. cannot seriously mean to maintain that that theoretically complete knowledge of a language which cannot be derived from a literature so abundant as the Sanskrit, may be got

out of the rules of a grammar?); again, we are not called upon to allow any claims without first testing them, or to accept an extensive command, for a full and philosophical use, of materials; and allowing to the Indian system all the merit that can be claimed for it, there is still not unlikely to be such a difference in method between Oriental and European grammatical science as should render it very doubtful whether the results of the former may be adopted in mass by the latter.

Mr. B. might perhaps have urged, with more apparent force, that as the Sanskrit has now been for many centuries in reality a dead language, sustained in a condition of artificial animation, to serve as the medium of learned communication, professedly by the efforts of native science, the records of the latter must occupy a very important position in relation to it, as authority for its usages. Yet even by this consideration the aspect of the case is not materially altered. For, as our author himself remarks, the ground covered by Pāṇini (taking that name as representing the whole system), is but limited in extent: it neither fully includes the language of the Vedas, whether of the primitive texts or of the Brāhmaṇas, nor the less peculiar dialect generally styled the epic: that is to say, Pāṇini leaves out of sight or treats but partially the historic development of the language, and two branches of the literature which are of chief importance to us, and rather aims to lay down the rules accepted in his time for writing correct Sanskrit, which is not at all the object for which we consult a Sanskrit grammar. And if the dialect which he represents forms thus but one of a series or group, what is its proper character, and what its place and relation in the series? So philosophical a writer as Mr. B. cannot surely be content to compose a complete grammar of a language without first settling this preliminary question, especially when of so interesting and important a nature as in the present case. For we have to determine even how far the Sanskrit possesses the attributes of a living spoken language, and how far it is, as its name denotes, "perfected," and so an artificial structure, the work of scientific theory. Its external orthographic form is, as must be allowed, in some part artificial. For it is in itself hardly to be believed, that any people should in its speech have so subordinated the distinctness and independence of words and phrases to euphonic requirements as do the rules of the Sanskrit, especially in reference to the hiatus; and the difficulty amounts to an impossibility when it is noticed that the Vedic writers, even to the latest portion of the latest text, wholly disregard them. If theory has been allowed such influence upon the outward form, it may not have abstained from touching also the system of inflection, or introducing its modifications in other departments. A better knowledge of the history of the science will naturally aid in the

elucidation of this point, but it must be mainly settled by a careful and express examination of the language itself, in the light of its relations to its next kindred.

Again, it is not so clear what is Pāṇini's precise relation to the very dialect which forms the subject of his teachings. That he has constituted the sole or the most efficient means by which the knowledge of the Sanskrit has been perpetuated in purity, may admit of much question. It were interesting to learn just how far those who have charge of the institutions of learning now existing in India, make Pāṇini's system the ground-work and superstructure of their instructions. How a familiar and practical knowledge of any language should be conveyed to youthful learners by the aid of a text-book which Western scholars, after long study, and with the help of a good knowledge of the subject treated of, acknowledge that they do not in all points fully comprehend, seems quite inexplicable. Have not rather the independent oral explanations of the teacher, accompanied by a full use of paradigms and examples, and the study of texts held to be safe models of style, been the main means of conveying instruction, the grammar being only the test by which the results obtained are tried? Have we not to regard the Sanskrit language as propagating itself by a natural process, by a perpetual inheritance of usages, rather than as constantly constructed anew out of the rules of a scientific system? If this view be correct, we may expect to find some signs of a want of entire coincidence between the phenomena of the language and their expression in the grammar. And such plainly appear: in respect to various points of orthography, for instance, Pāṇini is well known to allow a choice of methods, which the literature has never availed itself of, having always been consistent in following only one of them; and even, in some instances, the concordant authority of writers has been allowed by Mr. B. himself to outweigh that of the grammarians, where the two were at variance (see the preface to his *Chrestomathy* on the reading of *dushkha* for *duhkha*). Evidently, then, something in the grammar is grammatical theory only, and has never been practically recognized in the language; and nothing short of a careful study of the texts will enable us to separate such portions, and prepare us to seek, by the aid of the other grammatical records in our possession, to account for their presence there. And if the system thus in some respects a little more than covers the phenomena of the language, there is vastly more reason for supposing that it may in others fall short of them. Pāṇini himself was confessedly far from complete: his commentators have been engaged ever since in defining, enlarging, contracting, the limits of his rules, or supplying their deficiencies; and there can exist for us no guarantee that they have now just finished their task, and present at last a faultless system for our acceptance.

Once more, can we be content to take that material which Pāṇini furnishes us, and in its form as given by him, without verification, as so much Sanskrit grammar ready made? In answer to this question, attention must first be directed to the fact that, by Mr. B.'s own acknowledgment, the signification of some of the rules, or the extent of ground they cover, is still doubtful, from the lack of sufficient comment, or from the disagreement of the commentators. Farther, that a due regard for proportion has been so far rendered impracticable by the form given to the system, that in many cases it is not possible to understand the true worth and significance of a rule, whether it expresses a general fact in the language, or only an isolated case or group of cases, without a special investigation of the phenomena to which it may apply. And finally, that we are not authorized to rate so high Pāṇini's linguistic philosophy as to assume that he has made the basis of his representation of any system of phenomena the law which really lies at the bottom of them, and determines their relation to one another. How should this be the case, when the guiding principle of the entire system is so external in its nature, consisting in the analysis of forms, and regarding but little their uses and relations, the life and soul of a language; and when, besides, method and intelligibility have been confessedly sacrificed to an unfortunate passion for laconism; so that on the whole, there is nothing to which the system can be so justly likened as to a collection of anatomical preparations of the various parts which have once constituted a living-body, dissected apart with wonderful skill and exactness indeed, but their life gone, their functions unnoted, and themselves arranged, without much reference to their natural connexion, in such fashion that they may be packed away in the smallest compass?

If these considerations are correct, if Pāṇini's system does not include all that we desire to understand under the name of the Sanskrit language; if we know not precisely what is that language which forms his subject, nor how exactly he represents it; and if it is necessary for us to do his work all over again, before we can understand or make use of it; then it seems clear enough what part he should bear in the construction of a grammar for us. The first place could only have been yielded to him while the want of accessible texts made him our main dependence, and even then he was to be used with some caution and mistrust; as the literature is gradually brought within our reach, he must be made to retire more and more into the background, until we are able at last to declare ourselves quite independent of him, save for the few and unimportant additions he may be found to make to our grammatical material, thenceforward studying him only for his own sake, as representing a most curious and interesting branch of Indian science, and constituting a

very important department of Indian literature. And the truth of all the points here attempted to be made, is at least by implication acknowledged also by Mr. B., who has done much in respect to each toward remedying the deficiencies of his authority. That he has not done more is owing not simply to the partial command which he pleads of the records of the language, for upon them he has not spent his strength, but rather mainly to his confidence in the native system, and the position he assigns to it. For he still formally acknowledges its all-sufficiency, and, by the right of having fully digested and re-presented it, ventures to style his own work a "Complete Grammar of the Sanskrit Language," expressing the hope that, if that title be not quite earned already, the assistance of other scholars in fixing more exactly the value of Pāṇini's rules will enable him to assume it with entire justice in a second edition. It may be doubted, however, whether the community of scholars will be ready to concede to a work of no higher ideal than this, any other name than that of "Complete Presentation of the Native Indian Grammar," or to accept it as anything more than a contribution toward the preparation of that real Sanskrit Grammar which must yet continue to be wished and waited for.

A paragraph, the last but one, of the author's own preface, furnishes a rather startling commentary upon the entire work. It is as follows: "The Syntax I have for the present entirely excluded, because, even though completely presented according to the understanding of it by the Indian grammarians, it would yet turn out but in the highest degree unsatisfactory. It must rather be constructed out of the Sanskrit literature itself (proper regard being had, of course, to the native teachers), and developed wholly in the spirit of modern linguistic science." One cannot but ask: whether the want of a Syntax is not rather a serious defect in a "Complete" Sanskrit grammar? whether a suspicion of insufficient treatment might not extend from this to other departments of the system? whether these too might not perhaps with propriety be constructed out of the literature, or have not an equal right to partake of the spirit of modern linguistic science? and whether, finally, if the Syntax must be omitted for the present for want of satisfactory and scientific treatment, it would not be well to have omitted all the rest also on the same ground, and till the want could be supplied?

Note.—Since the above was in type, the concluding portion of the Chrestomathy has also come to hand.

W. D. W.

VIII. LETTER FROM H. LOBDELL, M. D., MISSIONARY AT MOSÛL,
RESPECTING SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES AT KOYUNJIK.

Prof. GIBBS— *Mosûl, Turkey in Asia, Jan. 5, 1854.*

My Dear Sir:—I have to-day made a visit to Koyunjik, the mound in the ruins of Nineveh opposite Mosûl, where Mr. Layard formerly exhumed some finely wrought sculptures; and it occurs to me that you may be glad to know something of the recent most interesting discoveries that have been made in an opposite part of the great mound, as well as a few facts regarding excavations in general in Assyria in these days. You are aware that Koyunjik (Little Sheep) stands on the western face of the ruins, somewhat north of midway from the two extreme points of the great enclosure, which is between four and five miles in circuit.

Nebbi Yunus is a little South of Koyunjik, but still remains almost intact, from the superstitious dread of the Mohannedans of disturbing the repose of Jonah, to the lofty *jam'eh* over whose tomb the Moslems go every Friday in great numbers from Mosûl, a mile distant, to pray. Helmy Pasha, the present governor of this district, did excavate somewhat in that mound last year, and found several large bulls and human giants, much injured by fire, and a few small antiques; among other things, a bronze lion on one side of which was an inscription which Col. Rawlinson reads: *Esarhaddon—the conqueror of Misraim and Cush*. Other inscriptions are said to assert that this mound of the prophet was built by captive women, and that of Koyunjik by men, from Babylonia.

The Pasha's object in setting his manacled prisoners to work in a cellar, where one of the bull's heads was accidentally discovered, was to find gold, and he instructed his overseers to search carefully under the feet of the bulls for treasure! None appearing, he desisted; the inhabitants refused permission to the English and French to continue the explorations, and the antiquities of Nebbi Yunus are likely to be for some time yet undisclosed.

A company has recently been formed in London for the purpose of excavating in the mounds of Lower Mesopotamia and Assyria, entirely independent of the British Museum, though it is expected they will work under the charter granted Mr. Layard and his patrons, which allows the removal to England of all objects discovered.

The French are obliged to offer the Sultan one-half of all they find, and a late attempt of Mons. Place, the French Consul in Mosûl, to raft some fine bulls and winged human figures to Baghdad and Busrah, was opposed by the Pasha on the ground that he had not given the Cabinet of Antiquities lately opened in Constantinople an opportunity to take the share due to the Turkish Government. These

large slabs were drawn from Khorsabad, about twelve miles distant, on a cart built by the Consul expressly for the purpose in the strongest manner, the wheels being about twenty inches in diameter, without spokes, by some three hundred Arabs for whom harnesses were made to order. The blocks now lie on the eastern side of the Tigris, under rude mud coverings which were built to prevent the sulphate of lime of which they were composed, from speedy decomposition. Sandstone was sometimes used for bulls in Nimroud, but gypsum was the common material, and this soft marble is susceptible of being most delicately wrought. It is easily worn by water, and even the rains of this hot climate are sufficient to decompose it very rapidly. It is only the immense mass of earth above the Assyrian sculptures which has preserved them from age to age.

It is presumed that permission will be given to Mons. Place to remove the sculptures, which are destined for the Louvre, an application has been made to the French ambassador at the Porte, who is now in quite as good standing at Constantinople as Lord Stratford, and in fact wields almost as much power as the Sultan himself.

Mr. Loftus, who was recently attached to the Commission appointed to run the boundary-line between Turkey and Persia, as geologist, passed through Mosûl a few days since on his way to Baghdad, in charge of the expedition fitted out by the newly formed English company. He expects about £20,000 to be placed at his disposal, and, with the advice of Col. Rawlinson, he will first lay open some of the sarcophagi in the great series of mounds at *Warka*—by some supposed to be the Ur of the Chaldees—and then explore various other *tels* in Mesopotamia. Should nothing of great interest be found there (you know that but few sculptures have ever been discovered in Babylonia, as gypsum-quarries are wanting there), he will come northward and continue the excavations so auspiciously begun by Layard and vigorously prosecuted by Rawlinson. The latter was just about to cease operations for the British Museum, and to send home the artist, when a discovery was made which promises to be not inferior to any made by Layard. The Colonel has not till recently had great success in excavating: a few slabs were found at Nimroud, some bricks, and ivory and copper utensils, with one or two basalt obelisks, well broken in pieces; and some large earthen cylinders, said to be of considerable interest, as at least one hundred years older than the sculptures of Nimroud, belonging to the time of Tiglath Pileser, turned up at Kalah Sherghat. Small books—blocks of a light colored clay, finely written over with arrow-heads—have been found in considerable numbers at Koyunjik, enough, indeed, to form quite a library, with vases, scarabei, cylinders and seals; but it was not till last week that anything of special interest was exhumed. I shall presume that you will be glad of a detailed ac-

count of so much of the new palace as has been laid open, since Rawlinson will not publish anything on the subject for some time to come. It will give me pleasure to communicate to you the result of further excavations, which, it is presumed, will now be prosecuted with considerable vigor, instead of being brought to a speedy close, as was anticipated.

Mr. Loftus has suggested the idea that the palace discovered by Layard was merely *an upper story* of the grand building, and that, were Koyunjik levelled to the plain, there might be found a lower and even grander series of sculptures. The experiment has not yet been made, but the entrances to both the palaces discovered were at quite an angle of elevation. That of the new palace, which is within about twenty rods of the north-eastern corner of the mound (Mr. Layard's was at the south-western corner), is a gentle inclination, the sculptures rising from the depth of fifteen feet below the surface to within eight or ten feet. There are some reasons for rejecting the supposition of a series of rooms still beneath, but it is to be hoped the question is destined to find a settlement.

Many of the slabs at the northern entrance of the N. E. palace have been broken, but most of the pieces retain very distinct outlines of the figures cut upon them.

Two large rooms have been fully opened. One is about sixty feet in length and twelve in width. The sides are faced with slabs about five feet high and four or five wide. The floor is laid with blocks of sandstone about sixteen inches square. Passing down the right side of the entrance from the North, the execution of the figures on the first three slabs at once gives the impression of a beauty and finish seldom seen in ancient art. Each slab bears four eunuchs about two feet and a half long, with bows in the left hand and well filled quivers slung to the back, facing the entrance. They wear well laced greaves, richly trimmed tunics with plain bodies, and well curled hair. One walks behind the first three, apparently to supply them with arrows. The fourth slab has the remains of a chariot from which the king's entire body has been torn, whether by the ruthless hands of a conqueror, or by the power of fire, is not clear. From the fact that numerous other figures of kings remain in this palace, and from the fact that some of the adjacent slabs are broken in pieces, or entirely decayed, it may be inferred that this hero came to a more natural end than did Sennacherib, whose nose and hands were hacked off in Layard's palace. To the bent pole of the chariot are attached two eunuchs, between whose heads rises the extremity of the shaft in the shape of the head of a horse. Two other eunuchs have their faces turned toward the carriage, apparently to guide its movements, while their feet, in spite of the laws of nature and of perspective, are represented moving in the opposite direction with the rest of the

band. Doubtless these slabs illustrate the mode in which the monarch used to take his morning-ride! Quite a vacancy occurs in the slabs on both sides of the main entrance, from this point; but numerous broken bits with heads of men and horses, beautiful borderings of vines and flowers, painted bricks, eunuchs with jars on their shoulders and birds in their hands, show that the vacancy is the work of time.

The long room into which this entrance leads is taken up with the delineation of a lion-hunt—such a hunt as makes one think of Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord.

The first slab I came to bore a fine lion with a shaggy mane and tail, pierced with four arrows. Beneath him were two horsemen, one bearded, and swinging a three-pronged switch over the head of his richly caparisoned steed, the other a eunuch who, with outstretched arm, is pointing toward another lion, who is soon shot and made to sprawl upon the earth with three barbed arrows running half through his body, while still another lies, on the next slab, writhing on his back. Next appear two lions, one above the other, dying, while one huger than all is jumping upon the chariot of the king, which is driven by an officer with flowing beard, guiding his single horse with three pairs of reins. A second dignitary in the square chariot of state pierces the game with a spear; a eunuch shoots an arrow; while the king, a much larger and finer figure than the rest, forces his heavy spear into the lion's head.

He has on a conical cap, surrounded by a rich tiara, ornamented bracelets, and a splendidly-wrought tunic, bearing on the breast, or back, as his position admits, between two circles, the symbol of the Assyrian religion—the adoration of the sacred tree—two human figures, priests or kings, standing one on each side of the vine, beneath the circle from which peers the head and arms of Deity.* These religious emblems are all delicately wrought in a space an inch and a half square, and remind the observer of the royal cylinders which are sometimes offered for sale by dervishes in Mosul. (I intended to send you herewith a tracing of this scene, but it is not yet completed.)

Beneath the horse of the chariot is a prostrate lion. The next stone shows a lioness on her back, shot through the nose by the king

* See Laurie's "Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians," p. 290; "Nineveh and its Remains," *title page*, and "Babylon and Nineveh," pp. 160, 606 et al. This figure abounds at Nimroud, and is found on many small cylinders. It is in fact the Assyrian symbol of Deity and his worship. Dagon, winged human figures with the bodies of bulls, or other hideous combinations, may stand in the place of the king, or customary priest, beneath the head and body of a man within the circle, and on either side of the sacred tree; but this main emblem of Deity is ever preserved.

in another chariot running in the opposite direction. Four heroes in the vehicle, all with their backs to the horse and driver, are transfixing another who is leaping upon the chariot from behind and trying to stop the revolution of its wheels by seizing one with her mouth. A sort of window, about fourteen inches square and semi-circular at the top, is cut in a slab between the two chariots—the only such orifice for light in the whole room, which must have been lighted from above.

The lower part of these slabs shows traces of fire, but fortunately it has done no great injury to the sculptures, most of which are in better preservation than any hitherto found in Koyunjik.

A few slabs are missing from the south-western corner of the room. On the southern end is a new scene, which determines the question whether or not these lions were trained sons of the forest. A eunuch stands on the top of a large cage, drawing up a grated door from which a lion is escaping, showing that these animals were raised to give the royal household sport. Twenty men, in ten series above one another, stand behind the cage, to direct the general course of the beasts as they come out. The first stone on the eastern side of the room in the order of our search, exhibits six lions and lionesses writhing with arrows in their backs. Horsemen ride over them. The second slab bears a king in his gay chariot with two vizirs and a eunuch, all with spears. The third slab has nine lions on it, each pierced with spears, or arrows, or both. The next has four bearded men leading and holding fierce dogs which seem to desire to scatter the lions. Then come eighteen archers, and spearmen—two by two—to see that no harm comes to the king, and to manage the movements of the lions. Succeeding these is an arched gateway leading out from the turreted walls of the city, and the king is seen at a distance with his attendants in his chariot of state, while a lion is springing upon them—the whole cut in a space of three inches by eight. Men are roaming about in a forest of firs, beautifully executed, either stirring up the game, or trying their skill in killing it. The five slabs toward the northern end of the eastern side of the hall represent the king and his people getting ready for the hunt. Grooms are bringing up the horses; the king and his officers mount the chariot and take their bows and spears; the driver holds one horse having a bell under his throat, a rich bridle and head-gear, his tail curled and tied up, while two men with solid Arab bracelets on their wrists, one holding the ear of a second horse, are backing him into his place. I have spoken of but one horse being attached to the king's chariot hitherto; and only one appears, though it is probably implied that two horses were always employed. Beneath is a row of eunuchs holding staves of office, and in front are spearmen carrying banners, all perpendicular as posts. One slab represents three rows of well bearded soldiers

with the circular shield and low head-dress, followed by others, spears in hand and bare-footed, with high conical helmets and shields reaching from their chins to the ground, such as Xenophon speaks of in his *Anabasis* and *Cyropedia*, where such shields are supposed erroneously to have been Egyptian, unless perchance the Assyrians adopted them from their rivals.* It is certain from the sculptures, that these bucklers were in use in Assyria several hundred years before the time of Xenophon.

Under the soldiers thus armed, is a row of horses led by sleek grooms, and, at the bottom of the slabs, a second series of officers, their rank being indicated by their dress, and bearing standards and heavy arms. Fourteen slabs in an almost perfect state of preservation occupy the eastern wall. There is more variety and artistic skill displayed in this one room than in all the palaces of Nimroud.

At a distance of about forty feet eastward from the room described, at the end of a brick wall, is a globular stone block three feet in diameter, hung with a wreath, its top having a circular depression bounded by a rim—undoubtedly an altar. It stands in front of the finest slab I have ever seen in any Assyrian mound—a block of deep blue gypsum, clear and uniform, bearing three figures of nearly full size. One is apparently a soldier, bare-headed, grasping a huge spear. Next to him is a griffin—a lion's head with opened mouth, a human body, hands and legs, and an eagle's feet, every part delineated with touching beauty. He holds in his raised right hand a dagger, and carries an Arab club, with a knob at one end, in his left. A three-horned priest, or, more properly, a priest with a fillet terminating in three upturned points, which Layard conjectured to indicate the wearer's rank in the priesthood, faces the griffin, having on his head a pointed crown-piece, his long thick hair folded under the fillet behind his neck, his left arm raised over his head, and his right hanging at his side—*without a cone, or basket*. Indeed, no figure, with either of these religious symbols, has been discovered in this palace. Perhaps this slab forms the entrance into a sculptured hall, either a temple, or a place for keeping sacrificial utensils.

On the western side of the hunting-hall there is another rectangular room, representing a war scene, a victory and a triumph. The slabs are considerably injured by fire, but it is clear that the work was executed in the most finished style. Large griffins and priests occupy each side of the doorway. The slabs are generally about eight feet high and half as wide. On the right side, as one passes in from the North, appears a band of warriors on the bank of a river, across which semi-circular boats are ferrying them, quite similar to those

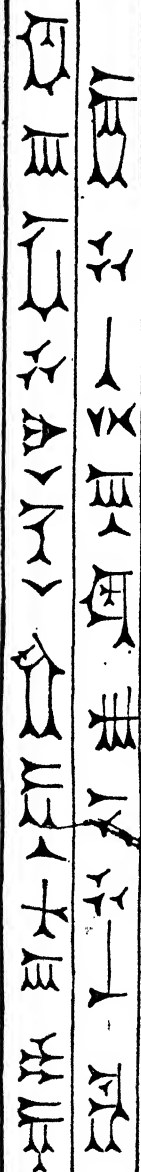
* Book I. Chap. viii.: Ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῆται σὺν ποδῶρεσι ξυλίναις ἄσπίδι. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐλγόντο εἶναι. Cf. Cyr. Book VI. Chap. ii. § 10.

used on the Nile in the days of Pharaoh and Herodotus. They differ materially from the high-prowed barges in which we cross the swollen Tigris at this season. Six ribs of wood, or bundles of reeds, are bound together by eight bands, and one would never think of calling them boats, were they not on a river and moved by rowers.

On the western side of the room is a recess, the back of which is sculptured with the figure of a gigantic monster, having the wings and feet of an eagle and the body of a lion. The head is defaced. The slab is seven feet square. On the sides of the recess are griffins, and beneath one of them is an entirely new combination—a centaur, with the dignified head and uplifted hands of a three-horned priest, and the body, feet and tail of a lion, ready to prostrate any one who would approach the interior of the chamber with irreverence. Like the griffins, this image strikes the beholder with awe. The southern side of the room is occupied with four rows of figures—captive women with their little ones, all carrying on their shoulders or heads, or in their hands, skins of water and provisions for their march, like the *nizam* of the Porte to this day. Officers walk among them, pricking them along with their spears, or beating them with their war-clubs. A few young females in the attitude of supplication, are seated on two-wheeled wagons drawn by oxen, or mules, some with infants on their backs. Two girls are fastened to a high saddle, bound with coarse ropes to a mule's back. All the females have curls hanging down the back of the neck, and are handsome in spite of their tears and sorrowing, bringing to mind, as one sees them looking back at their heroic husbands, the touching scene of the parting of Hector and Andromache.*

The male captives either have their right hands chained two by two together, while they support the loads on their shoulders with their left, or bear great burdens of wood and water under the eye of proud and merciless drivers. They all have short whiskers, while those of the conquerors fall in rich curls on their breasts. On the eastern side of the room is a chariot drawn by two Assyrians, with keys in their hands, in which appears the captive monarch with a child astride his shoulders!

On the left of the entrance is the king in his chariot. A man rides a spirited horse in front and uses his bow, while a double row of archers precode. Beneath are armed men in a forest of palms; below these are others leading captives before them with crossed hands and a disconsolate look. Another slab represents the king in his triumphal car, over whose head is a triangular umbrella, richly embroidered, and supported by two eunuchs on foot behind the vehicle and one within it, there being two handles to the umbrella,



INSCRIPTION ON THE FACE OF THE CASTLE.

while officers of state, and scribes numbering the begging and manacled prisoners, precede him. Between two windows about three feet square, in the eastern wall—the only two of the kind found in any Assyrian palace, is a castle with two rows of bastions, the foundations of which men are loosening with bars, holding at the same time their thickly bossed bucklers over themselves, which are pierced from above with arrows. One party is boldly scaling the battlements by a ladder, spear and shield in hand, some fall headlong from the fortress, and the countenances of all betray the greatest emotion. The warriors have more spirit than any I have elsewhere seen.

On the front of the castle is a beautiful cuneiform inscription, indicating perhaps the name of the conqueror, but more probably that of the captured city, and, if so, of the greatest interest. I send you an accurate copy, which you will notice is read from left to right.

Beneath the castle is a stream filled with fish and dead men. Beyond the second window is an officer beating some captives and forcing their lances into them, who surely have neither a Jewish nor a Babylonish expression. That the captives were not from any quarter North of Nineveh, is evident from the fact that palm-trees abound, and these only. I come to the conclusion, from this fact, and from the dress of the people and the structure of the boats, that this hall represents a victory over the *Egyptians*. A second, but partly defaced inscription is found over the chariot of the king, the beauty of whose robes and ornaments nothing can exceed. When the inscriptions of this chamber are read, it is probable we shall have a valuable addition to ancient history.

Another room, partly uncovered, still further to the West, represents the flight of the enemy in great terror on horses and in chariots, while some try to conceal themselves among the date-trees where the victors pierce them with spears, or cut off their heads with Kurdish-like daggers. The chariot-driver guides his horse by a single line attached to the animal's head just below his ears, which answers also the purpose of a whip.

Guarding the entrance into the scene of the final victory is a peculiar monster; he has half the body and the feet of a lion, and the head and upper extremities of a man, his right hand grasping a gigantic spear. A broken slab within represents the king seated under a tent before which women stand with suppliant countenances and hands. Above the tent are inscribed three lines about two feet in length, doubtless making mention of the victor and the victory.

Seventy feet South of the lion-chamber is another room just opening, guarded like all the other halls by a savage griffin and a priest. The room is not yet cleared, but one scene is uncovered, a battle in which, in addition to other modes of fighting, are introduced camels, on the backs of which are two men—one an archer, the other the manager of "the ship of the desert."*

Various copper utensils, with glass and earthen ware, have been found in the four rooms I have described, and there is no doubt that other objects of interest will be disclosed as the excavations progress.

The palace is built on no mean scale, and when completely uncovered will be a spot of great attraction. Numerous English and French travellers will look upon it, but I fear I shall see no Americans there except my companions in missionary toil. To them the recreation is very inviting amid their arduous, but pleasant labors.

It is expected that the slabs will be removed to the British Museum soon after drawings of the sculptures have been secured. The artist is now on his back at one of our houses, perhaps near death.

Through the politeness of Layard and Rawlinson we have been able to send several large sculptures from Nimroud, with inscribed bricks, to Yale, Amherst, Williams, Union and Dartmouth Colleges, and I suppose most of them have already reached their destination.

I notice you refer to an article of mine in the *Missionary Herald* of April last, as settling the signification of *Melek Taus*.† Dr. Perkins has written me that he is confident he was mistaken in rendering the phrase "Mighty Angel." The explanation of Dr. Hyde has some plausibility. Since I wrote the letter to which you referred, I have learned something more of the Yezedee faith, and, if you desire, I will communicate to you what my business as public physician enables me to ascertain from the numerous dignitaries of that singular sect who apply to me for medicine.

* Xenophon's *Cyropedia*, B. VI. Ch. 11. "They have camels on which they ride up to us, and one of which a hundred horses will not bear the sight of."

† See *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 502.

